

NARRATIVES OF WOUNDED KNEE

by

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A REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional & Community Planning
College of Architecture, Planning and Design

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Approved by:

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Abstract

Research suggests that Native Americans, Chicanos, and African Americans are groups underrepresented in the North American memorial landscape. The fluid nature of a group and individual's identity (and the memory that shapes it) contributes to the underrepresentation in commemoration and memorials. As communities and the associated identities continue to blend and overlap moments of positive cultural exchange can take place, but at times the outcomes are in the realm of contention and conflict. The collaborative nature of landscape architecture together with the profession's ability to understand and interpret complex systems and narratives can fully engage and bring form to the morally imaginative, creative act of peacebuilding. The concept of shifting and variant meaning led to this study that considered the question- *How might memorials be designed as reconciliatory agents in cultural landscapes with conflicting histories?*

This study engaged the concept of memory and identity with Oglala Lakota, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, regarding the tragedy of Wounded Knee, through adapted ethnographic approaches in interviewing, site visits, extensive literature review, mapping and design inquiry. The design inquiry responds to social, economic, and ecological narratives to inform the design of the reconciliatory-minded memorial.

The initial premise of the project was situated in the understanding that events with contested meaning are difficult to memorialize because there are so many differing voices; irreconcilable in the built form. While that is true in some contexts, initial findings suggest these groups are underrepresented because it is difficult to memorialize that which is a contemporary social justice or inter-demographic issue. In light of this and further research, the author believes that memorials seeking to honor demographics or events that directly affect contemporary groups might be contextually more appropriate, and act as mediators, if they focus forward rather than solely and solemnly reflect the past. Conceptual sketches conclude this study, offering possibilities for design expression, which might be realized with community participation.

A black and white photograph of a grassy field. In the foreground, there is a circular stone fire pit. The field is covered in tall grass and some small plants. In the background, there is a hill with some trees and a fence line. The text "Narratives of Wounded Knee" is overlaid in the center of the image.

Narratives of Wounded Knee

Note

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Narratives of Wounded Knee

Beth Ann Krehbiel

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Masters Report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:
Master of Landscape Architecture (MLA)

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Narratives Wounded Knee

By
Beth Ann Krehbiel

Research suggests that Native Americans, Chicanos, and African Americans are groups underrepresented in the North American memorial landscape. The fluid nature of a group and individual's identity (and the memory that shapes it) contributes to the underrepresentation in commemoration and memorials. As communities and the associated identities continue to blend and overlap moments of positive cultural exchange can take place, but at times the outcomes are in the realm of contention and conflict. The collaborative nature of landscape architecture together with the profession's ability to understand and interpret complex systems and narratives can fully engage and bring form to the morally imaginative, creative act of peacebuilding. The concept of shifting and variant meaning led to this study that considered the question- *How might memorials be designed as reconciliatory agents in cultural landscapes with conflicting histories?*

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Abstract



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Key Terms

Commemoration: Something intended to honor a place or person.

Conflict Resolution: Methods and processes towards the act of reconciliation (addressing deep-rooted conflict) (Ramsbotham, 2011, 31).

Cultural Landscape: These places seen to “provide a sense of place and identity; they map our relationship with the land over time; and they are part of our national heritage and each of our lives” (“What”, 2011).

Empathy: The ability for a person to identify an emotion of another within themselves. An umbrella term comprised specifically of emotional sharing, empathetic concern and perspective taking (Decety 2014 and Pallasmaa 2011).

Lakota: A people and language. The Lakota are an indigenous group of people within the Sioux nation. Lakota is one of three dialects and cultures within the Siouan language.

Memorial: The creation of something to serve as remembrance considering both memory and identity.

Narrative: As understood by *Landscape Narratives*, means the story and the telling.

Peacebuilding: Action to address “structural issues and the long-term relationships between conflictants” (Ramsbotham, 2011, 32).

Pine Ridge Indian Reservation: Reservation for the Oglala Lakota in southwestern South Dakota. The area comprises all of Oglala Lakota County and portions of Jackson and

Bennett County. These counties are amongst the poorest in the United States.

Reconciliation: Restoration of mutual respect, loosely. According to Contemporary Conflict Resolution, it is “a longer-term process of overcoming hostility and mistrust between divided peoples” (Ramsbotham, 2011, 32).

Story-telling: The sharing of a narrative.

Wounded Knee: Considered by most a massacre, and by others a battle, marking the end of the Indian Wars between the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the United States. The massacre took place on the current-day Pine Ridge Indian Reservation on December 29, 1890. Between 130 and 250 Sioux people were killed by the 7th Cavalry (National Park Service, 1992).

I sincerely thank the members of the Oglala Lakota tribe on the Pine Ridge Reservation of which I had the privilege of meeting and speaking with this year and in years past. People have willingly shared about themselves and their own unique experiences and have made space in their days for such conversations. I've always felt very welcome and upon leaving look forward to my next visit back to see them. I hope my attempt of representing the stories you have shared does justice to the lives lived and emotions and observations you expressed. Thank you for your time and friendship.

I definitely would not have been able to complete this project without the constant support of my LARCP committee, especially my Major Professor, Lorn Clement. Thank you for your guidance, earnest feedback, and kind support (and lots of books!). You've been genuinely interested and supportive of my ideas from the very first seminar class I took from you. So thank you for believing. The project took longer than I anticipated, but the extra time allowed me to process the project and reflect on the meaning found within the following pages. The project has deep personal meaning for me as a designer and individual, and you were a large part of allowing me to explore this topic. Anne, thank you for your support and guidance through pointed questions and push for specificity and clarity. I appreciated my time spent with you as master's student and I was very grateful to assist you in your studio class. I might have taken just as many notes as the students. And to my final committee member, thank you Dr Falcone. Thanks for your support and insightful conversations regarding anthropological methodologies and how they could influence and support my project. Guidance from all of you has carried me through the process.

My large, crazy family has been beyond supportive of my last three years obtaining my MLA. Without your unwavering support, group texts, and critical feedback the last three years would not have been possible. Lots of laughter came from you and your adorable kids (cats and humans, alike). Major thanks extended to those whom felt like family in Northern Ireland. My time at Kilcranny House directed me to where I am now; the impact, immeasurable. So much support was extended to me from my McPherson College family. Thank you specifically LaMonte Rothrock and Jd Bowman for allowing me to explore what I was passionate about and for listening to me trying to figure it all out and apply to grad school. And Colleen, we made it and now we're masters.

I've been fortunate to have forged deep relationships and loving support from people that need a better descriptor than 'friend'. I came to APDesign expecting to craft skills in a field I feel quite passionate about. While that has certainly happened, I have also discovered a deep pool of love and support. Thank you to the landscape students for always being ready to share ideas, tell some great stories, and getting serious about extracurricular sports. Wesley, thank you for your translations and our adventures. These memories won't soon fade.

Acknowledgments



Figure 00.03 Summer Badlands Exposed (Adapted by Author)

For my Grandpa Larry Krehbiel and
my friend Tracy, in the words of Maya
Angelou: “Death, where is thy sting...
it is here in my heart, and my mind, and
my memories.”



Dedications



Figure 00.04 Summer Badlands in Bloom (by Author)



Figure 01.01 Driving to a Sweat with Ed Young Man Afraid of His Horses on the Pine Ridge Reservation, June 2012 Workcamp
(Adapted by Author)

01 Introduction

- Personal Background
- Thematic Background
- Inquiry
- Situational Background
- Project Process

Introduction

Personal Background

Commemoration, narrative and conflict resolution are three areas of personal interest, which stem most specifically from my previous work undertaken in Northern Ireland as a long-term volunteer and my time spent on the Pine Ridge Reservation as a Coordinator and Director of workcamps. In Northern Ireland, I worked at a Peace and Reconciliation Centre, Kilcranny House, which explored contentions among various demographics; namely, conflicts between Northern Irish Catholics and Northern Irish Protestants. The scope of work that took place at Kilcranny House was expansive and could be further articulated, but for the purposes of connecting my current interest with my previous experience is the ethos by which Kilcranny House functioned: 'Healing the divisions which exist between people and between people and the earth.' Garrett Eckbo, a practicing landscape architect and theorist in the mid-Twentieth century believed that amends should be made between people and the earth. Through wars, subjugation, and shifting boundaries people had essentially become divorced from the land (Eckbo, 1950). His theories were reminders of my time in Northern Ireland; particularly the predicament of commemorative public spaces that are sacred to one demographic and simultaneously offensive and, at times, fear-inducing in another group. The spaces surrounding the structures of the Belfast peace walls serve as an example of this type of potentially contentious space. Engaging in service learning and directing small-scale maintenance and beautification projects with young adults on the Pine Ridge Reservation opened up opportunities to hear the various stories associated with historical and contemporary Native American rights issues and the US governmental reshaping of identity and meaning. These experiences led me to wonder how spaces and landscapes with multiple cultural identities might be reconciled through design.



Figure 01.02 Taking a Break at Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe
(Adapted by Author)

Introduction

Thematic + Content Background

Theory has the ability to metaphorically describe and connect thought with action and understanding. Considering Elizabeth Meyer's conceptual framework of theory having the ability to bridge, mediate and reconcile, the following project explores where landscape architecture might perform in that manner in theory as well as process, form, and function (Meyer, 1992). By bridging time and representing a varying collective conscious of the time, theory allows a designer to infer understanding and has the potential to bring together and reconcile through writing or design. Theory's ability to seemingly mediate and carry understanding is inherently creative in that theory is not a truth but rather a flexible understanding and snapshot of the evidence and belief of the times. The power of a theoretical approach can be a solid base to start from as working with something malleable enables one to explore new possibilities with it. By building on the concepts and ideas of others, creative synthesis leads to new ideas and approaches. In this respect, theory might also be metaphor. The imagination required and inherent purpose calls to mind the power and roll of metaphor in landscape architecture, specifically in the role of memory creation. Metaphor is posited to be the "transfer of meaning between dissimilar domains, the domains here are that of past and present time" (Modell, 2003, 41).

Imagination, memory, and metaphor are all elements designed and revealed to honor the identity and meaning of place. Places, like people, have a story to tell. As events unfold, places and people's stories are created (Wasserman, 1998, 42). Commemoration serves to establish an account of personal, cultural, and ecological histories and narratives of a place. Memorials are visual, potentially lasting reflections in and of society impressed upon the landscape and it is therefore important to design with regard for truth. I am particularly interested in how a commemorative

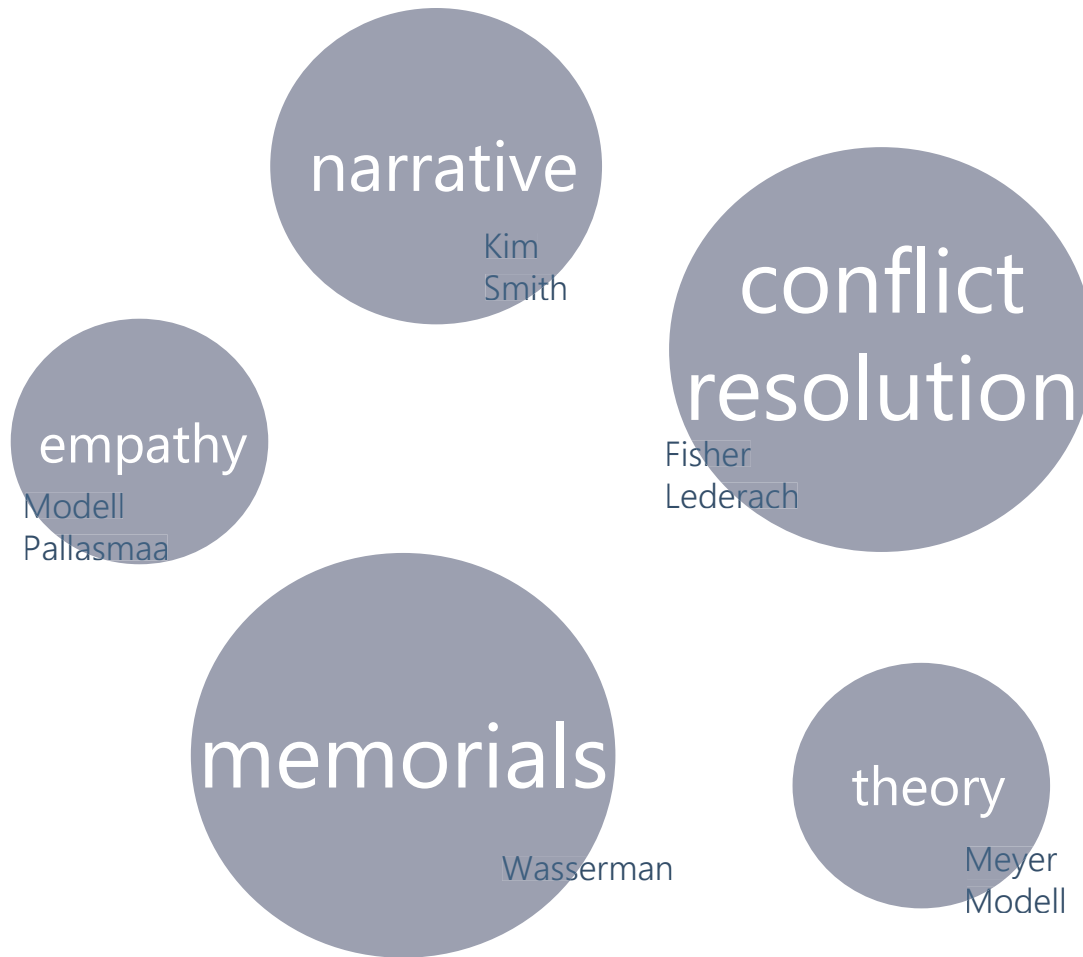


Figure 01.03 Study Conceptual Components: Initial Literature Map
(by Author)

landscape might serve as a reconciliatory agent. As such, the purpose of this study was to explore the design possibilities for a commemoration space with prominent elements of storytelling as an empathetic device for involved groups to better understand one another or for outsiders to gain understanding.

Empathy is unique in its emotive ability to generate a potential outcome of changing attitudes and improving personal

motivations within an individual. Empathetic design has the potential to relate the deeper sense of an event through a person's ability to recognize and reflect by cognitively placing themselves in an object, space, or story. "Empathy is an unconscious process in which the individual uses his own body as a template that enables him to 'feel' into the other's experience" (Modell, 2003, 121). The term "empathy" has its roots in the German term "Einfuehlungung." The word was introduced by Theodore Lipps, a German psychologist

studying the projection of the self onto objects of perception (Modell, 2003). Empathetic response to the built form, be it architecture or art, is said to not be in the material but in the self reflected (Pallasmaa, 2011, 71).

The narrative conceptual thinking of this study bases its research on that of landscape narratives and narrative inquiry. These two areas of narrative research support the project's goal of better understanding the role and importance of storytelling within and separate from the field of landscape architecture. They offer processes of researching and design inquiry, both with and independent of a community. These theories were more comprehensively defined and explored in the literature review, as it was important to understand the purpose of synthesizing the approaches and theoretical underpinnings. Synthesis carried over to methodology as a way to engage the community. Supporting the way in which narrative is examined in *Landscape Narratives*, the literature review analyzed and synthesized narratives through the framework of theory, practice, and application (Potteiger, 1998, xi). As articulated by Kim, narrative inquiry is understood through “macro-level and meso-level theories: critical theory, critical race theory, feminist theory, poststructuralism, theory of experience, and theory of novelty” (Kim, 2016, 76). Narrative processes allow stories to be shared and are critical in bridging people, cultures, and spaces. Narrative, as theory, is understood as both the story and the telling. The concept of narrative as the story and the telling is a way to understand the landscape and also design it. These practices are further studied and actively carried out in the landscape architecture profession (Potteiger, 1998).

Understanding the various narratives of a place, as a part of conflict resolution in this project, was an aim for the conflicted (later identified in this chapter) and for the researcher

(myself, the author). To explore the hypothesized divide (conflicted and researcher), the research was largely informed by better understanding the culture relative to the conflicted. Methods (detailed in the Literature Review and Methodology chapters) further discuss how both the process of engagement with the conflicted and the design inquiry of the place bridge the values of conflict resolution and community engagement through narrative on a theoretical level. To highlight the initial concern and how intent to work with groups beyond one's own identity might be considered, Smith offers, “Some methodologies regard the values and beliefs, practices and customs of communities as ‘barriers’ to research or as exotic customs with which researchers need to be familiar in order to carry out their work without causing offense” (Smith, 2012, 15). To avoid offense and work with communities in a positive manner, it is appropriate to return to Smith's observations once again. “Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values, and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are ‘factors’ to be built into research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood” (Smith, 2012, 16). Research and supportive response to people and the landscape are important in considering ways to bridge and mediate in cultural landscapes with layered conflicts.

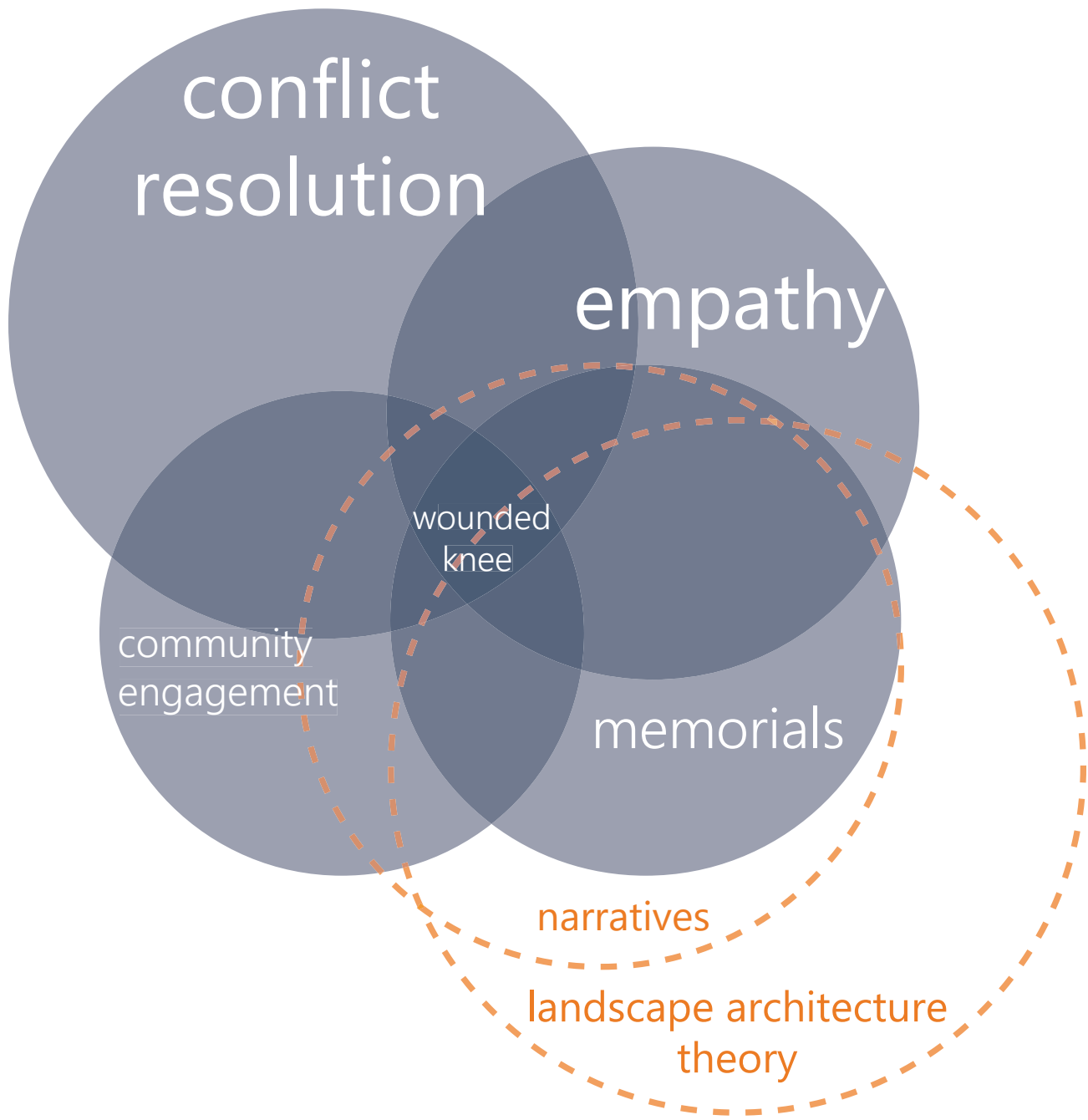


Figure 01.04 Conceptual Component Boundaries (by Author)

Inquiry

Relevance + Dilemma + Question

In a world where communities have many, sometimes even conflicting, identities that continue to blend and overlap, it is important to recognize such exchanges and moments. Because of this, beautiful moments of cultural exchange can take place, but other times the stories are in the realm of contention and conflict. Landscape architecture is situated to be a practitioner of good design through engagement and influence in communities. Influence and design can extend to support the process and implementation of telling the story of these places. Judith Wasserman writes that, “Numerous stories which defined the twentieth century still need telling” (Wasserman, 2002, pg 196). Supported by geographer Kenneth Foote, “In the twentieth century, violence crossed many frontiers to scar many landscapes. The meaning of these places remains to be resolved” (Foote, 2003, pg 353). The stories of Native Americans, Chicanos, and African Americans all have stories that are only now being heard and honored. These stories that need telling, of which the spaces are invisible or unmarked, are often places with unresolved meaning (Foote, 2003, pg 293). Communities with spaces of contention often have multiple truths that may not be evident and cause tensions in a community. Therefore, I ask: **How might memorials be designed as a reconciliatory agent in cultural landscapes with conflicting histories?** Figure 01.05 reflects the project design in a way that illustrates the depth and specificity of the inquiry and how the research design considered important subcategories.

	.design framework.				function				the place				- dilemma context -			
inquiry	HOW	MIGHT	MEMORIALS	BE	DESIGNED	AS	A	RECONCILIATORY	AGENT	IN	CULTURAL	LANDSCAPES	WITH	CONFLICTING	HISTORIES?	
define																
form																
action																
outcome																

Figure 01.05 Project Design with Important Subcategories Identified (by Author)

Inquiry

Project Background + Boundaries

The author previously worked with Oglala Lakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. The Pine Ridge reservation is in portions of three counties: Oglala Lakota County (formerly Shannon), Bennett County and Jackson County. These counties are amongst the poorest of the 3,143 counties in the United States. The author's experience, along with the adults and young adults she worked with were profoundly affected by the time spent there; through the stories they heard and places they visited they gained a deeper understanding of what it meant to be in a cultural landscape where so many of the moments in history had been contentious with reverberating tragic ends. Yet, in this rich landscape were kind people that were willing to discuss the misinterpretations of history relative to the Pine Ridge Reservation and their identity of Lakota. The author was immediately caught by the change in words and language to describe Wounded Knee; initially labeled a battle and later reclaimed as a massacre. The landscape is dotted by different stories through signage and museums.

This project culminated in guidelines for the process, form, and function of reconciliatory-minded commemoration in cultural landscapes as well as schematic design iterations at the Pine Ridge Reservation and the event of Wounded Knee. To better understand Wounded Knee, in the context of place-making, the author focused on three main questions:

History | What actually happened at Wounded Knee?

Narratives of Site | What stories have been previously told?

People | Who was and is involved and what defines them?

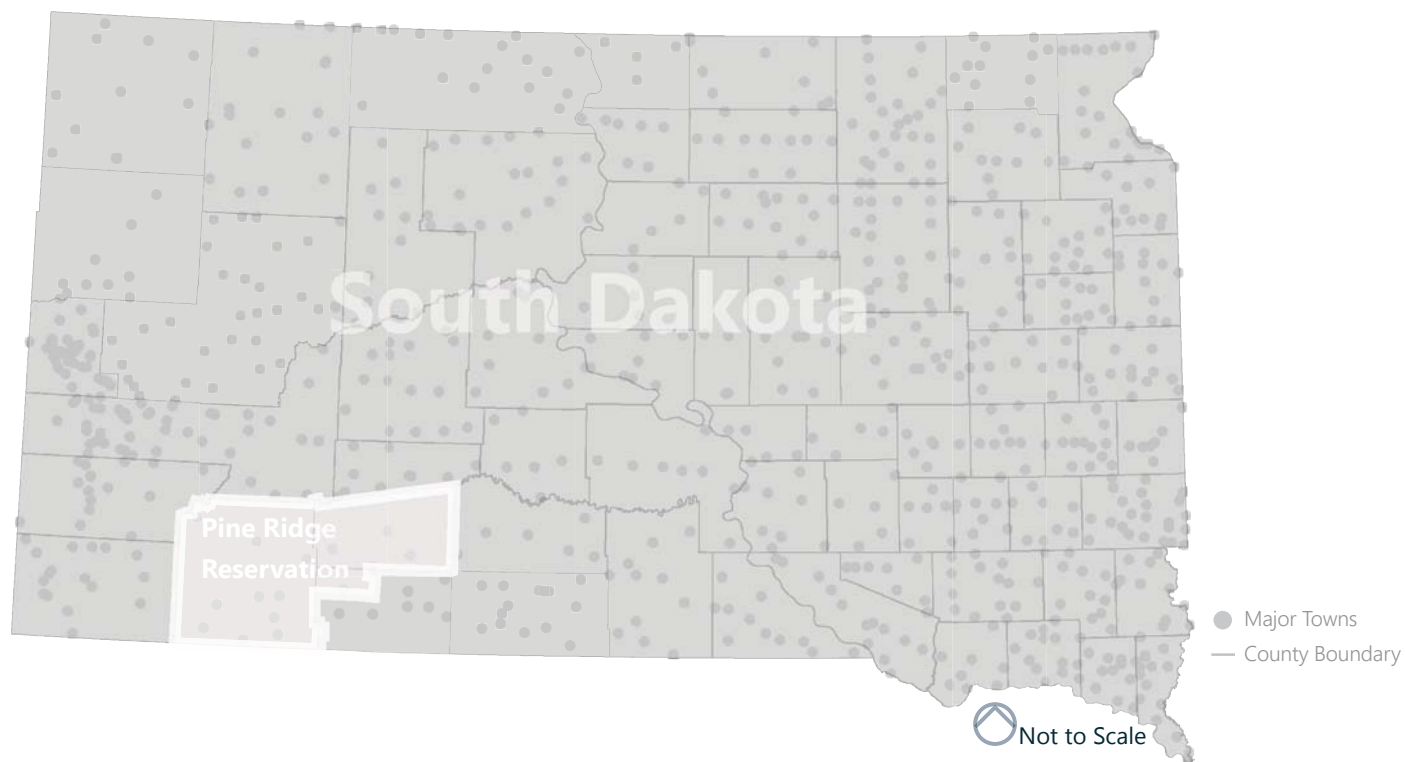


Figure 01.06 Pine Ridge Reservation Current Boundaries (by Author)

Situational Background

Site Context + Importance

It was important to understand the social context of the site, as it begins to orient the reader to the three main questions of this study regarding history, narratives of the site, and the people. Wounded Knee did not exist in a vacuum. Historical relevance of Wounded Knee is situated through events and actions leading up to the massacre on December 29, 1890 and the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupation in 1973. In the latter half of the 1800s, the United States government implemented western expansion/frontier policies. The Indian Wars were symptomatic of the Indian removal policies enacted at the time. The policies led to military campaigns and outright fighting. Of equal importance to the politics at the time were the Lakota's cultural and spiritual practices; namely, the use of the ghost dance.

Wounded Knee is significant as it was the last armed conflict of the Indian Wars. Multiple wars between the United States Army and Native American tribes took place. The Battle of the Greasy Grass (Battle of the Little Bighorn) is often referenced as the most important battle leading up to Wounded Knee. During the Great Sioux War of 1876, The Battle of the Greasy Grass involved Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne in armed engagement with the 7th cavalry. Custer was defeated at this battle by Lakota bands led by Sitting Bull, a Hunkpapa Lakota holy man, and Crazy Horse, an Oglala Lakota war leader. The Lakota Sioux and Cheyenne were attempting to preserve their way of life by combating the United States government's attempts to confine Native American tribes to reservation lands. Much of the Native American action was in response to the United States acquiring the (sacred) Black Hills, previous tribal land, when gold was discovered there. Figure 01.07, Great Sioux Reservation Reductions, was adapted from "Breaking up the Great Sioux Reservation" and shows the progression of tribal land further and further reduced. The scope of land reductions fragmented tribes,

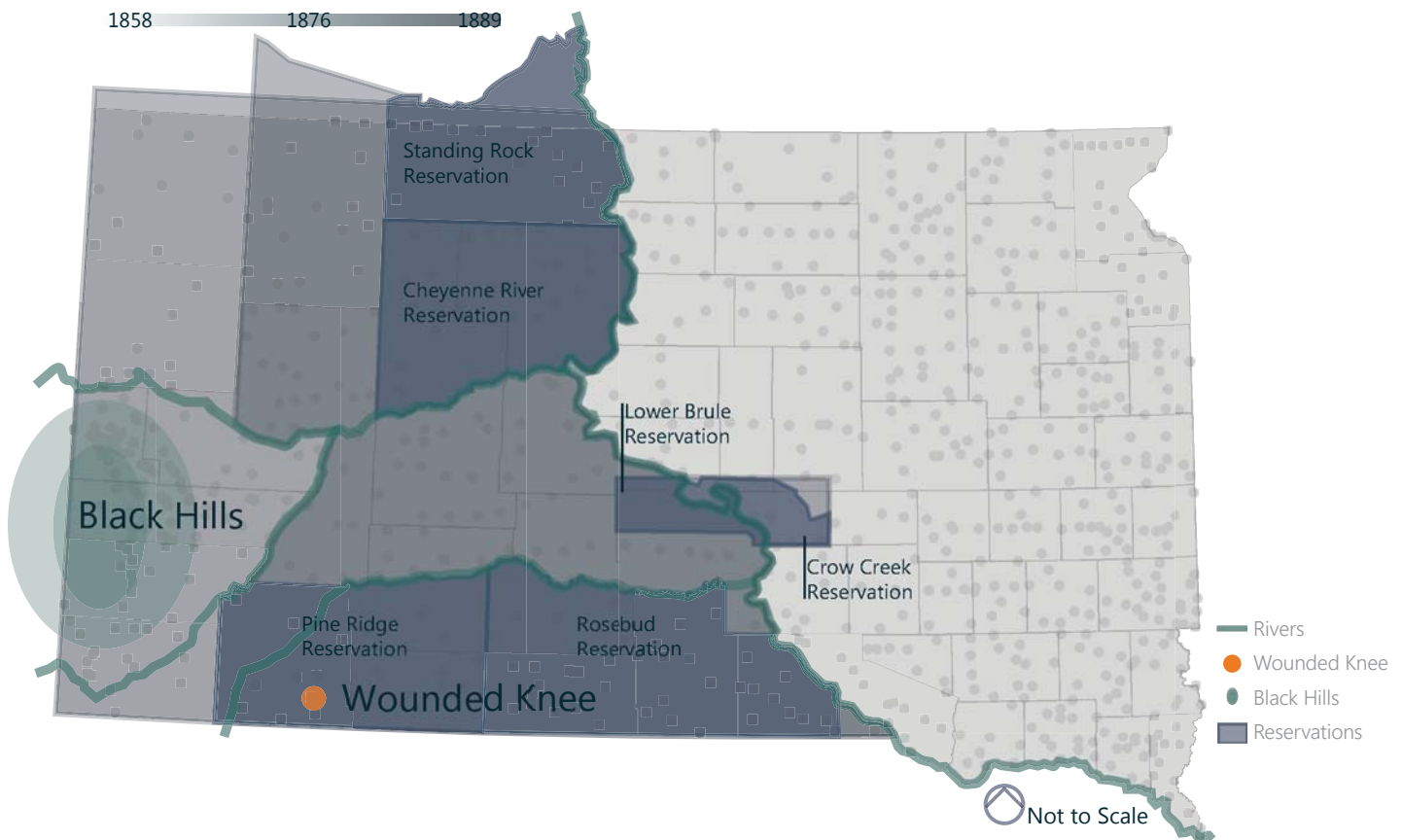


Figure 01.07 Great Sioux Reservation Reductions: 1858 | 1876 | 1889 (by Author)

forcing the indigenous people onto reservations through treaties in the late 19th century (Coleman, 2000, 11).

In May 1890, the ghost dance was introduced in the Dakotas by a medicine man. By October, ghost dancing made it to the Lakota on the Standing Rock Reservation where Sitting Bull was living after he surrendered (to the US government in 1881) (Coleman, 2000, xxi). Lakota believed the ghost dance would improve the lives of Native American peo-

ple. When performed, dancers went into trance-like states. Indian agents at the time misinterpreted the dance as hostile because they believed the Lakota were just trying to make trouble. Black Elk, a famous Oglala Lakota holy man during this time, stated, “the government was really, really afraid of us because they thought that we would make trouble. But it wasn’t at all that way. We were just praying that the Great Spirit would help us out” (Coleman, 2000, xi). Because of the reports sent to the federal government warning of

the ghost dance and asking for back up on the reservation arrests of several other Indian leaders were called for. Royer, an Indian agent on the Pine Ridge Reservation contacted the federal government, Sitting Bull was taken into custody and was subsequently killed during the arrest. After Sitting Bull was killed, Big Foot was concerned something would happen to him and his people, so he escaped. At the same time, Sitting Bull's band, the Hunkpapa, fled the Standing Rock reservation. They went to the Cheyenne Reservation to meet with Big Foot, chief of the Minneconjou band, and headed south to Pine Ridge Reservation where they believed they would reach safety. This group of Lakota is reflected in figure 01.08, describing the entire Sioux Nation, its sub-tribes and the bands that were at Wounded Knee. Meanwhile, Lakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation, as well as the neighboring Rosebud Reservation, had fled to an area off the reservations known as the Stronghold (Coleman, 2000, xxiii).

On December 28, 1890, Big Foot and the two bands of Lakota (comprised of 120 men and 230 women and children) were captured by and surrendered to Major Samuel M. Whit-side (part of the 7th cavalry) on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The group involved at Wounded Knee is explained in the context of the Great Sioux Nation in figure 01.08. After the Lakota surrendered, they were escorted to a temporary camp five miles away at the Wounded Knee Creek. The following day, December 29 1890, the 7th cavalry from Ft. Riley, commanded by General Forsyth, killed and wounded over 300 Native Americans from the band of Big Foot (Minneconjou) and Hunkpapa (Sitting Bull's band). Estimates for the Lakota casualties range from 300 to 350. Twenty-five army men died. The massacre is believed to have started when the gun of a deaf Lakota fired; either accidentally or intentionally. There is much debate surrounding what happened with the gun as well as the intent of the US Army. The night the

before the massacre, soldiers placed four Hotchkiss cannons on the hill overlooking the Wounded Knee Creek environs and Lakota camp.

The second Wounded Knee was the period of American Indian Movement (AIM) Occupation in 1973. This event is sometimes called Wounded Knee II or Wounded Knee Incident. There was a growing amount of discontent for the treatment of Native Americans in the United States. Extreme poverty, violence and a desire to impeach the tribal president Richard Wilson on grounds of corruption all contributed to the occupation of Wounded Knee. On February 27, 1973 AIM and many local Oglala Lakotas took control of Wounded Knee town (the same place as the massacre). The stand-off took place between police groups, FBI, and US Marshals against the AIM occupiers. Shots were fired back and forth. The occupation ended on May 5, 1973. Russel Means and Dennis Banks are the most famous of the AIM occupiers (Magnuson, 2013, xi). Varied narratives of this occupation are explored in the interview analysis in the Findings chapter of this book.

Wounded Knee is considered the “last major violent encounter between American Indians and Whites” by the National Park Service. Because of this and several other factors, Wounded Knee was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1992. The NHL document continues, “the event has been entitled the ‘Wounded Knee Massacre’ or ‘Battle of Wounded Knee’, depending on the historical perspective of the writer” (National Park Service, 1992, 23). According to the United State Department of the Interior's National Register of Historic Places (The National Register), Wounded Knee was considered a “benchmark in the history of the Lakota Ghost Dance, the Sioux Campaign by the United States Army, and the Pine Ridge Reservation

Troubles of 1890-1891” (National Park Service, 1992, 23). In compiling the document for classification of landmark status, The Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted a public meeting at Wounded Knee to discuss the draft. The meeting took place on June 21, 1990 and attended by roughly 40 Native Americans representing various Lakota Sioux bands (National Park Service, 1992, 24). Tribal elders expressed the lack of “contemporary Lakota perspective” and, on their recommendation; the National Park Service conducted four oral interviews with Lakota in July and August (National Park Service, 1992, 24). Transcripts were included in the final NHL document for Wounded Knee. Portions of the NHL document (inclusive of the interview excerpts) are located in Appendix C (beginning on page 208) at the end of this document.

The Bill to Establish a Wounded Knee National Tribal Park passed in the United States Senate on February 9, 1995 calling for the formation of a national park to honor those killed at the massacre. The plans have never moved forward and one explanation is contemporary political agendas. The move for memorialization of Indigenous people’s histories, specifically Wounded Knee is “in recognition of the fact that there is no national monument anywhere in the United States that honors the history of an indigenous nation’s defense of itself. There is no place for Lakota tribal heroism to be recognized in the United States. The failure to take note of this indigenous inalienable right is at the heart of America’s racism” (Cook-Lyn, 1999, 1).

There are many other stories associated with Wounded Knee that are relevant to this study, but the amount of time given for the project limits the scope. In lieu of expanding on these stories, the author suggests the popular historical book, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. Specific commemorations existing for Wounded Knee were analyzed and documented in the Literature and Precedent Studies chapter. The use of interviews later described in the Methodology chapter and Findings chapter of the book attempt to capture some of the stories not mentioned in this section. Additional opin-

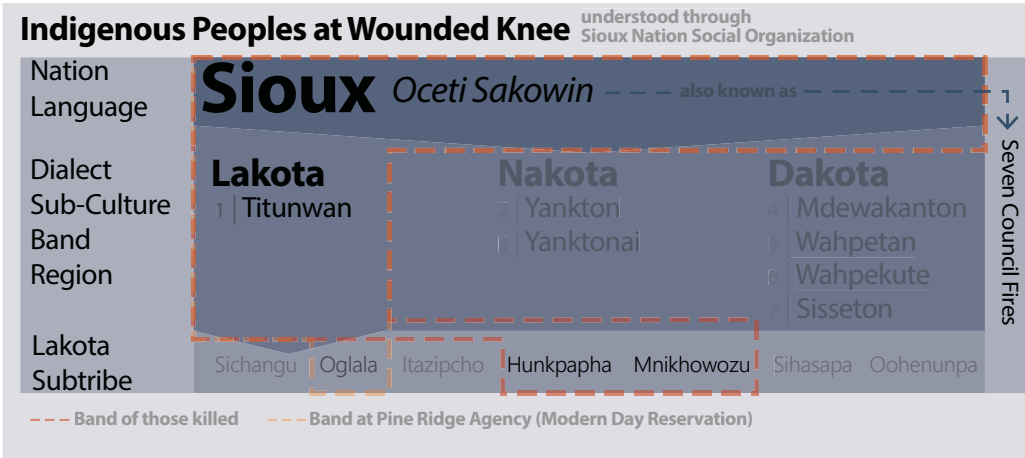


Figure 01.08 Indigenous Groups at Wounded Knee (by Author)
ions about the massacre are written about in the Findings chapter of this book.

Project Process

The entirety of the project lasted a year. The process officially began with project definition and question identification through initial literature review and meetings with my major professor, supplemented by meetings with potential secondary and tertiary committee members. By the end of the first semester, portions of the actual project began and the final proposal was submitted. The proposal included the research question, substantiation of the inquiry and project through literature review, and detailing methodology by which to explore the research question. The second semester was devoted to implementation of the methods and project representation in book and poster form. The entirety of the project, in terms of the author's project design, is illustrated in figure 01.09. The figure describes the inquiry exploration process of the project context (Wounded Knee) and the project concept (reconciliatory memorials). The figure also shows how the methodology supports the importance and relevance of both context and concept that generated findings, which supported the design inquiry, and brought the project to a close with the last chapter of 'conclusions'.

Understanding the context of both the people and the landscape created a platform to begin to review more literature and to conduct relevant precedent studies. Synthesis of the literature review and precedent studies contributed concepts of memorial design in landscapes (of tragedy and violence) as well as theory applied to reconciliation and peacebuilding. This background is found in the following chapter.

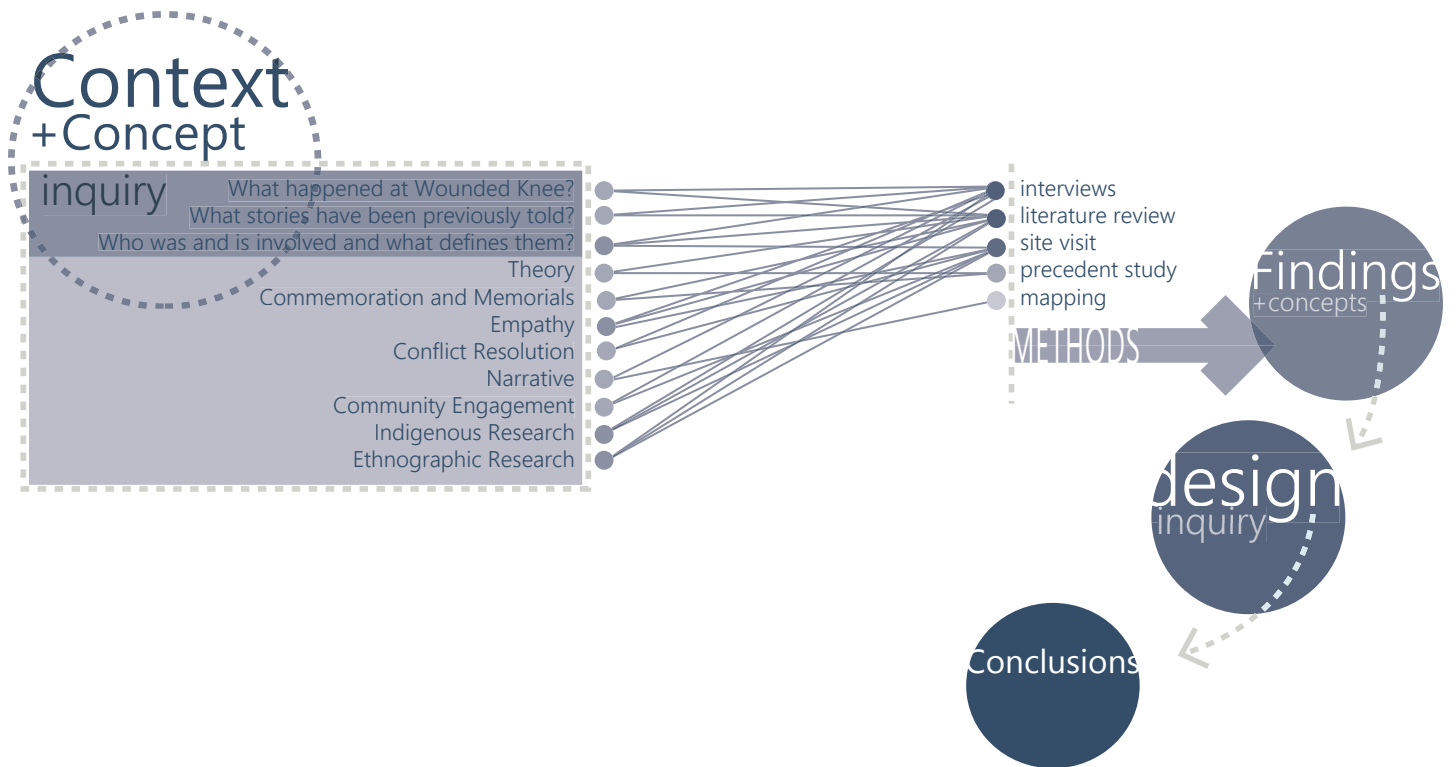


Figure 01.09 Project Process (by Author)



Figure 02.01 Key Areas of Focus in Literature Review (by Author)

02 Literature Review + Precedents

- Introduction
- Literature Review
- Precedent Study
- Summary

Literature Review

Introduction

Initially, this study strove to examine and synthesize key theories relative to the areas of commemoration and conflict resolution through the lens of narrative theory and storytelling with an emphasis on the role empathy generation might have on individuals. As the literature review deepened, it became apparent that more attention needed to focus on the context of the site relative to research in and of indigenous communities. Original areas of inquiry are featured as light blue whereas darker colored circles reflect the new and more specified areas of inquiry in figure 02.02. The overlaps of these key areas were important to understand in order to inform and guide methodology, presented in the next chapter. The literature, in particular, defined the elements to consider in the precedent studies, interview questions, and methods of coding the interview transcripts and their subsequent visual representation. Precedent studies, at the end of this chapter, further articulate the background and context of commemoration, empathy generation, and selected sites exemplifying tragedy and violence in the landscape (the latter component for comparable design insight). Synthesis of the literature review and precedent studies, coupled with methods in chapter three, and subsequent findings (chapter four) culminated in proposed guidelines and a commemorative design.

As the end goal of this project was to design the landscape as a reconciliatory agent, steps first had to be taken allowing for such events and changes in attitude. The basis of all of this is was to generate understanding and respect for stories and intent, either of individuals or for communities, as well

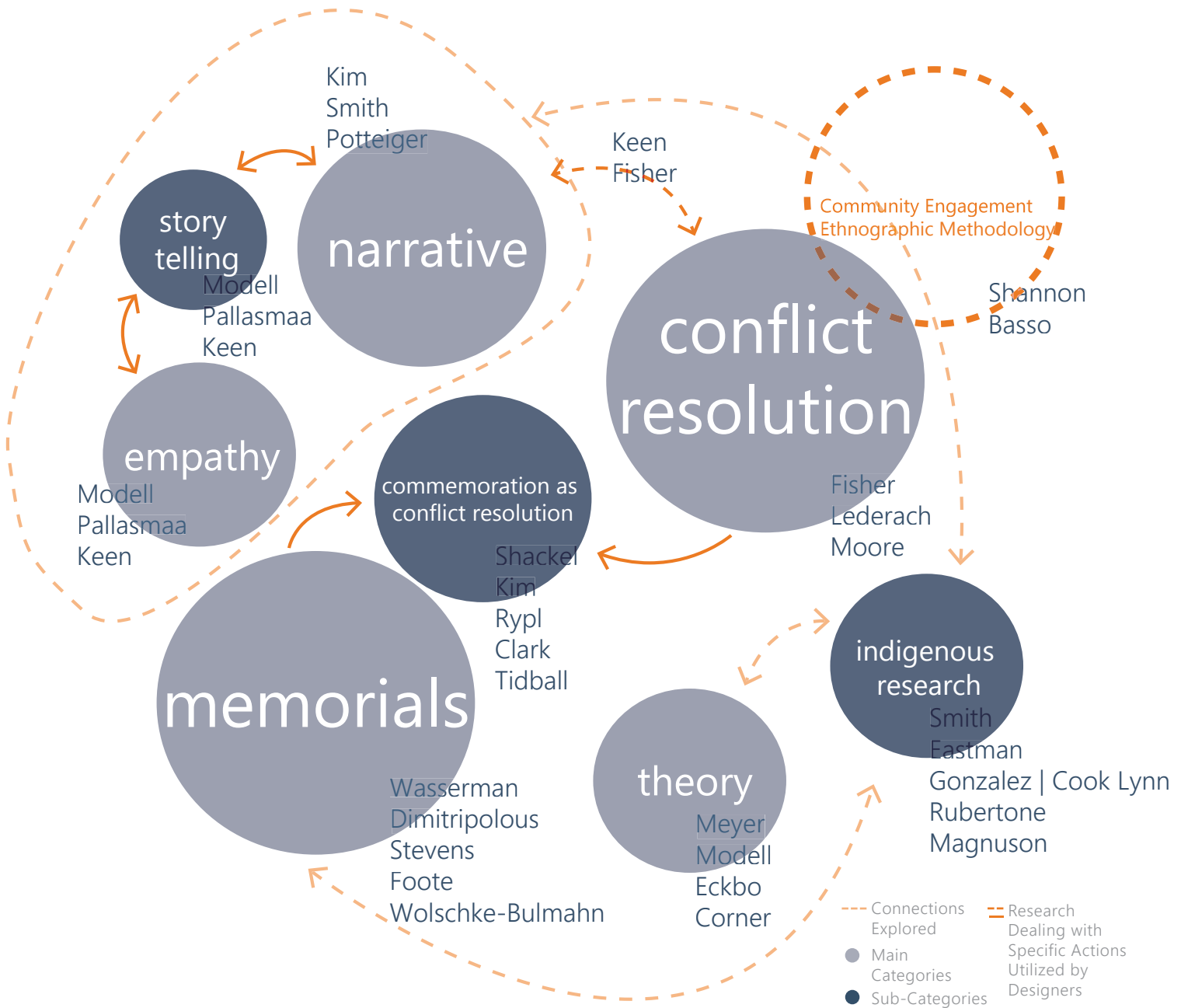


Figure 02.02 Literature Map (by Author)

as for designers and stakeholders. It is presumptuous to assume reconciliation to happen before first preparing the groundwork for such an outcome. Understanding conflict resolution and peacebuilding was crucial to understand how to get to the point of reconciliation. Therefore, the following areas were explored through the literature review: Commemoration and Memorials; Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution; Narrative; Storytelling; Empathy; and Indigenous Research. Broad strokes were taken in these respective fields to identify where there are overlaps in language, purpose, and how frameworks and concepts might work in tandem to move forward with the design of sites as memorials acting as reconciliatory landscapes.

Commemoration + Memorials

Commemoration can be defined as the act of remembering and memorials as the outcome. Simplistically, memorials are a part of the commemorative process for people, in a place. Memorials serve a range of purposes in varying scale and function, which are often in the form of monuments. In the built form, memorials can be designed as plazas, parks, statues, plaques, or represented through the naming of places or streets (Foote, 2003 and Wolschke-Bulmahn 2001).

Probing questions arise when discussing the relationships between the form and function of landscape (design) in concert with commemoration and identity (Wolschke-Bulmahn, 2001, 4). Aspects of these questions, as seen in figure 02.03, were directly applicable to examining Wounded Knee as a tragic event in which culture, politics, and temporality were major considerations informing the methodology of this study. These questions arise as identity and memory are fluid, permeable things that are personal, social constructs (Wolschke-Bulmahn, 2001, 2). These questions were kept in mind throughout the entirety of this project and applied to the

guidelines found in the Design Inquiry portion of this book. Form and function of commemorative design recognizes that memorials serve to remember and honor the dead, promote understanding of past events, give proof to abuses and violations, and provide official narratives (Clark, 2013, 117). Explicitly, this study examined the design, conceptual understanding, and role of memorials in landscapes of violence and tragedy, with the purpose of attempting to remember and honor victims associated within the landscapes of varying narratives.

Memorials are important because memory and place are embedded in the cultural landscape (Wasserman, 2002). These culturally specific, place-oriented landscapes represented through memorials have a large impact on communities suffering from tragedy or violence. People often construct memorials right away as a way to honor victims and preserve memory in these particular landscapes. Often, the areas of horrific events have community-response memorials that pop up in a matter of weeks, days, or even hours. If these early commemorations make their way to collective, public memory then the debate (while heated) often brings to light the competing interpretations and forces emotion out into the open (Foote, 2003, 343). While painful, if these monuments are built with specific intent to garner empathy from individuals, the possibility for a more peaceful interaction arising from the conversation and eventual built form might arise.

Foote (2003) has proposed a typology of memorialization which includes sanctification, designation, rectification, and obliteration. Sanctification of sites transforms the place to something sacred. For a site to be deemed sacred the site becomes symbolic with the express purpose to remind future generations of a sacrifice, virtue or to act as a precautionary



How do cultural issues come into play?

Do beholders derive a common meaning from a place of commemoration?

What distinguishes gardens and landscapes in their commemorative quality from other such media as painting, literature, and music?

What is the potential and what are the limits of landscape design for commemoration?

Can landscape itself stimulate awareness and memory of past events?

Can the designed landscape influence our ways of commemorating and can it influence identity?

Can it mediate between particular identities, or do those who visit a commemorative site need to learn about its message and history through other media?

Does the landscape provide only the necessary matrix to fill the spatial gaps and distance between the built elements that constitute a commemorative site and that give it an unequivocal meaning?

How do political issues come into play?

Does a relationship exist between the political organization of a society and the landscape design of its memorials?

Can one, for example, distinguish between the landscape design of commemorative sites in democratic and authoritarian societies?

Who are the social, political, ethnic, or other groups that “own” history, who have the power to interpret it and to determine the ways to commemorate it?

How do power issues come into play?

Do the landscapes of commemorative sites designed by ruling groups differ than those designed by underprivileged groups?

How do the latter try to establish identity and interpret history with the help of commemorative sites?

Are their sites of a more private character because they do not have the power to express their ideas about who, what, and how to commemorate in the public spaces?

How does perception come into play?

Is the visitor’s reaction and perception defined by his or her predilection alone, or can landscape design facilitate a common experience?

How does temporality come into play?

How does time affect the effectiveness of sites as places of commemoration and the way they are perceived?

Do we need to reevaluate memorials from time to time to see whether they still fulfill their original purpose, assuming this original purpose is still agreed upon as appropriate and desirable?

Might new generations that have no personal experience of the events commemorated need a more distinctive, more clearly explanatory, and perhaps more provocative design?

Figure 02.03 Questions Regarding Commemoration, Memory and Identity (Adapted from Wolschke-Bulmahn, 2001)

tale of what should be avoided. These sites are delineated as sacred by having clearly defined edges or boundaries, they are clearly maintained for years (decades to centuries), ownership of the land has (often) gone from private to public, the space elicits ritual commemoration, and the initial commemoration spurs additional memorials in the area (related or unrelated). Obliteration lies on the other end of the commemorative spectrum and characterizes the community's reaction to events wished to be forgotten or erased from memory. Often these are the sites of mass murders, notorious acts, or other equally awful acts which garner shame in the communities they affect. In the span of landscapes elevated to sacred spaces to those with purposefully erased histories lay sites remembered by society through designation or rectification.

Designation differs from sanctification in that the site has not been formerly consecrated nor is ritualized. However, designated sites often become sanctified over time. Designation often remembers the 'minority cause', 'places in process', or an 'unforgettable event'. Sites of rectification are often places of tragedy where the site is "put right and used again (Foote, 2003, 23). These sites are the most common of tragedy and violence in the United States landscape. In these cases shame interferes with the normal emotive bonds that develop between people and the environments in which they live, what geographers term "sense of place." This is opposed to placelessness, understood by geographers and landscape architects as a disconnect, anxiety, or even fear. Foote asserts that landscapes associated with shame "disrupt ordinary bonds of attachment and make it difficult to form new ones" (Foote, 2003, 208). If shame is a portion of what is experienced because of Wounded Knee it is possible to understand the difficulty in commemorating or memorializing a place that is in this purgatory of spaces and memory.

The fourth type of commemorative landscape is that of rectification, which is often a tragedy or an act of senseless violence that does not garner enough significance nor connotes enough shame. The landscape is thereby not significant enough for sanctification or designation nor shameful enough for obliteration. However, sites of rectification may spur change elsewhere (policy or reform, for example). These types are temporal in classification because as the collective consciousness changes so does the remembering of the site morph. The continuum of the types are reflected in figure 02.04.

Written about by Kenneth Foote, there are events that "cannot be forgotten but should not be remembered- obliteration is ineffective, but sanctification is inappropriate. The sites are held in a limbo of conflicting emotions: someone will object to what is done regardless of whether the site is marked, ignored, reused, or memorialized." (Foote, 2003, 208) Form in the landscape may not be justified if the landscape should be obliterated of an event, but if Wounded Knee might be overall understood as an event to be sanctified, designated, or rectified, the landscape might be a very appropriate mode through which to communicate and act in the process of reconciliation.

To further understand the commemorative typology and how it can function in varying circumstances, the precedent study at the end of this section considered various types of memorialization, in a wide variety of locations, with types of commemoration that deal with violence or tragedy in the landscape. Foote's typology examined the character of the event from which commemoration arose and is important to understand because the typology framework conveys how a community feels about past atrocities. Next is moving from the context of the landscape as a typology on to specific



Figure 02.04 Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy Continuum (Adapted from Foote 2003)

forms, and their function, as objects within the commemorative landscape.

As earlier suggested, monuments are the most common expression of commemoration in the landscape. Dimitripoulos suggests the condition of the modern memorial is one imbued in a biased and principled narrative that grapples with the truth and accuracy of an event (Dimitripoulos, 2009). He further argues that memorials must respond to the narcissistic nature of the individual while seamlessly supporting the collective conscious of the time. Designing with regard to the collective conscious of time supports the notion of peacebuilding as it seeks to interpret current sentiments, and if designed with some sense of ambiguity, it has the power to shift meaning as time passes. Understanding of memorial

design in this sense begs the question, How does one design a space that reflects multiple truths in a story? This type of cultural question regarding memorialization has to consider identity, the social implications of design and the political players. Examples of commemoration in places of contention were explored in this study.

In the past several decades the “counter-monuments” concept has been emerging. Such memorials as Maya Lin’s Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC as well as Laurie Olin and Peter Eisenman’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, Germany are examples of monuments that both remind and honor (Stevens, 2012). Stevens argues that “Counter-monuments seek to confront or disrupt established meanings and tropes: purpose and subject matter,

duration, style and form, as well as relationships of authoritativeness, authorship and reception” (Stevens, 2012, 960). This type of memorial focuses on form, user experience, subject, and site, much like other types. However, this approach to commemoration suggests the abstracted form allows people to understand, in a more varied way, the story of a place, people, or event. Critique is offered that perhaps, in the case of Eisenman’s work, such abstraction leads to ambiguity and ultimately a loss of understanding. The opinion is exemplified in documentation of a study-tour including the monument Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Gale, 2004). Maya Lin, describes her own work on memorials as a hybrid between art and architecture and believes that memorials lie somewhere between the metaphoric purpose of her own art and architecture practice. She states, “my art is like writing a poem, and my architecture is like writing a novel.” The hybridization she speaks of in her memorial work has function but she articulates “their function is purely symbolic” (Rypl, 2013).

Conflict Resolution + Peace Building

Conflict is a part of life as groups and individuals interact with incompatible goals, motives or understanding. Conflict can be understood through a typology of groups involved. When parties involved are predominately similar they are considered to be in a ‘symmetric’ conflict, conversely, ‘asymmetric’ conflict is borne between groups of dissimilar backgrounds. Often the dissimilar backgrounds come in the form of minority and majority, master and servant, government and rebels, employer and employee, or groups that are in conflict based on structure and the inherent relationship differences between them. Most traditional conflict resolution satisfies conflict between ‘symmetric’ conflicts. ‘Asymmetric’ conflicts are resolved through a change of structure as normative outcomes are that the top dog traditionally wins.

Though not inherently destructive, conflict as debate and difference can lead to the creation of new ideas and growth of the person and community (Moore, 2014). However, when conflict moves from the realm of advancement and knowledge to that of contention it is sometimes appropriate to involve a third party, often as a mediator.

“Where cycles of violence are overcome, people demonstrate a capacity to envision and give birth to that which already exists, a wider set of interdependent relationships. This is akin to the aesthetic and artistic process. Art is what the human hand touches, shapes, and creates and in turn what touches our deeper sense of being, our experience. The artistic process has this dialectic nature: It arises from human experience and then shapes, gives expression and meaning to, that experience. Peacebuilding has the same artistic quality. It must experience, envision, and give birth to the web of relationships” (Lederach, 34).

Shown in figure 02.05, mediation, negotiation, dialogue (or informal discussion and problem solving), conflict avoidance, and reconciliation (adapted from Continuum of Conflict Management and Resolution Approaches and Procedures by Moore 2014, 6) are optional forms of resolution on a continuum related to private forms of conflict resolution. Private forms, as opposed to public or legal proceedings, are more advantageous to all conflictants in a dispute, and results are closer to ‘win-win’ situations on the continuum of outcomes. Considered a third-party form of assistance rather than intervention, mediation has precedence as a form of conflict resolution to aid conflictants in ways to voluntarily work through and settle their differences (Moore, 2014, ix). This seems easy in theory, but in practice, “Initially, people may avoid each other because they dislike the discomfort

conflict management

procedures and approaches



Figure 02.05 Conflict Management (adapted from Moore, 2014)

that frequently accompanies conflict, do not consider the contested issues to be that important, lack power to force a change, do not believe the situation can be improved, or are not yet ready to take any action to settle their differences” (Moore, 2014, 7).

Conceptually the mediator initiates activities and moves those in conflict to a space of positive action. Mediation techniques can be seen as a move or an “influence technique”. These choices, on behalf of the mediator, are accessed similar to that of a negotiator as follows:

- The moves of other disputing parties.
- Their standards of behavior.
- Their styles.
- Their perceptiveness and skill.

Their needs and preferences.

Their determination.

The amount of information the negotiator has about the conflict.

The negotiator’s personal attributes.

Available resources (Moore, 2014, 181-183).

The above choices illustrate ways to consider future processes for engagement in communities where design interventions might be appropriate. Mediators (and designers) can also utilize these attributes metaphorically in ways to construct form and function of elements in a landscape to achieve a form of reconciliation.

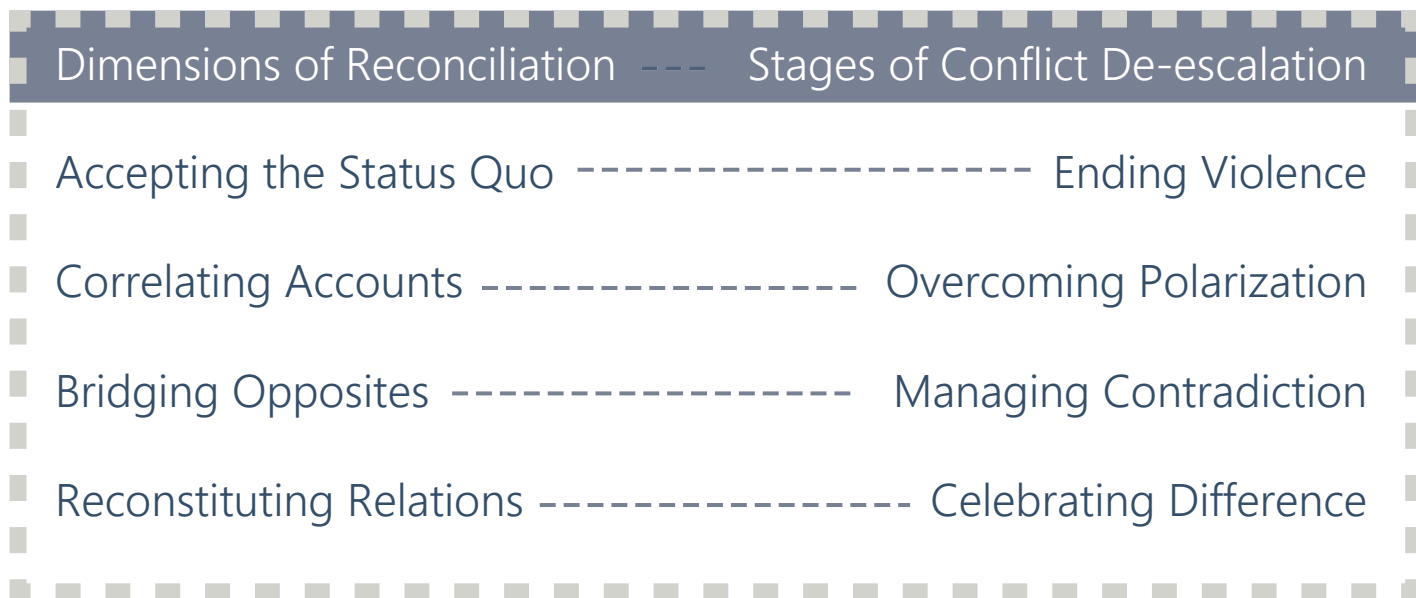


Figure 02.06 Process of Reconciliation (Source Ramsbotham, 2011)

For the purpose of this study dialogue and conflict avoidance were not as deeply explored as the study of narratives provides for an understanding of dialogue. And conflict avoidance seems to be a mile marker already passed as there is already discordance on the Pine Ridge Reservation regarding the meaning of Wounded Knee historically and what it continues to mean. The focus for conflict resolution was to observe the role of negotiation, mediation and processes to facilitate reconciliation. Shown in figure 02.06, there are four dimensions to reconciliation where the aspect is related to the stage of conflict de-escalation. All stages were researched for this study as the author felt it important to best understand Wounded Knee as it was the massacre in 1890 followed by the tensions and escalation that led to the AIM occupation of Wounded Knee in the 1970s.

Disciplines of the moral imagination, which make peace-building possible, includes relationship-building, paradoxical curiosity, creativity, and risk. They share a grassroots type approach to conflict resolution (Ramsbotham and Lederach, 2005, 34). Situations and misunderstandings take creativity and an open mind. One must understand the more fundamental qualities of the actors and factors that have contributed to the conflict in order to move forward and understand the complexities. Separating the problem from the people, focusing on the interests of involved parties (perception), crafting options that afford differing groups mutual gain, and insisting on objective criteria are principles of negotiation which can philosophically and physically influence the approach of the project and design of a commemorative landscape (Fisher, 1991). In the model of pacifism and non-violence, conflict resolution is foundationally not about

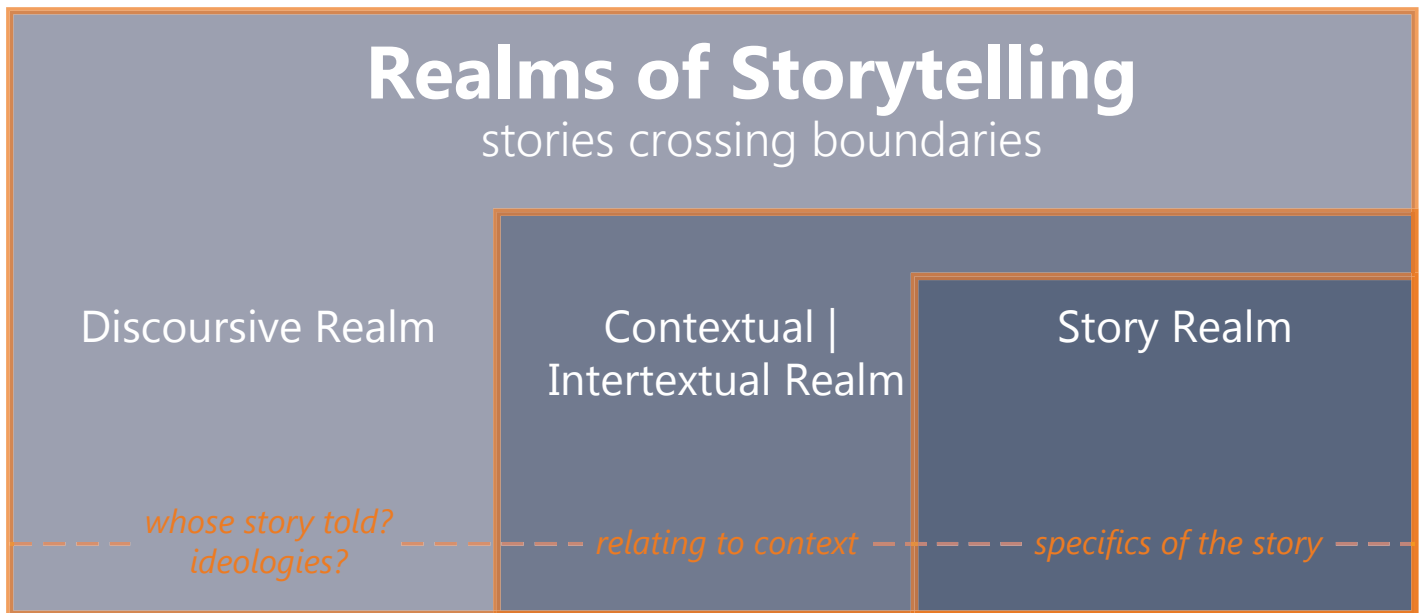


Figure 02.07 Realms of Storytelling (adapted from Potteiger, 1998)

winning but rather likened to the Ghandian dialectic ‘to achieve a fresh level of social truth and a healthier relationship between antagonists’ (quoted in Ramsbotham, 2011, 41). In this way, it is the role of the peacemaker or mediator to focus changes and development of self-awareness and self-knowledge. Deeper understanding by peacemakers creates space to better understand “perceptions, values and attitudes of conflictants.” (Ramsbotham, 2011, 41).

Understanding peacebuilding as a creative art situates landscape architecture as having a role to influence and mediate. This type of social performance consideration in landscape architecture is a bit messy, as moral imagination is described by Lederach, “...the nature of innovation. It is the nature of pursuing change. And, as I will argue, it requires naiveté and serendipity” (Lederach, 2005, x).

Narrative

As described in the introductory chapter to this book, the narrative conceptual thinking of this study is based in theories of landscape narratives, narrative inquiry and narrative theory. Perhaps the largest component to this body of work is to record, analyze, understand and interpret stories as narrative of a place and the people involved. In the chapter on findings, representation of the narratives were synthesized and represented in photomontages and design concepts. According to *Landscape Narratives*, the power of storytelling and narrative can be profound and can describe a “cultural system of significance” (Potteiger, 1998, 32). The author hoped that the power to hear, recognize, and understand stories would situate itself in all realms of this study. Stories and story-telling are such a large part of daily life and ritual. It comes in many forms, temporally, contextually, and in

modality. Potteiger and Purinton write,

“Stories link the sense of time, event, experience, memory and other intangibles to the more tangible aspects of place. Because stories sequence and configure experience of place into meaningful relationships, narrative offers ways of knowing and shaping landscapes not typically acknowledged in conventional documentation, mapping, surveys, or even the formal concerns of design” (Potteiger, 1998, ix).

While it’s important to read, analyze, and synthesize the literature, it is also valuable to cultivate the stories told in a place. Narratives of a person within a storied landscape has the potential for new perspectives in meaning. Through stories, this study engaged with those that have ties to Wounded Knee through spatial, cultural and familial ties with an assumption that stories and interpretations contribute to disconnect and misunderstanding in the story realm, thereby affecting the concentric, outer sphere of narratives of place. In recording and analyzing these stories, one begins to understand the concept of the “Realms of Storytelling,” as described by Potteiger and Purinton, shown in figure 02.07. The figure shows the realms in growing context or scale beginning with the story, the contextual/intertextual and the discourse realms (Potteiger, 1998, 41).

The story realm “designates the world created within a narrative- it’s content, the story, as well as the means used to shape that world, the narration (telling)” (Potteiger, 1998, 41). This realm is the story’s world and the construct is given meaning by the designer through using the specific structures of the story. Similar to a book, examples of structures include character, point of view, plot, and event. The contextual or intertextual realm is how the story relates to the audience/reader/community or memory while the discourse realm

regards “whose story is told and what ideologies or world views are implicit in the telling” (Potteiger, 1998, 41). It is through tropes that the stories are given form and meaning in the landscape. Many tropes exist in language and the arts, but Potteiger and Purinton focus on four, as they are more prevalent in landscape architecture: metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, and irony (Potteiger, 1998, 34).

Metaphor is the ability to relate the familiar to the unfamiliar in a way that can either build new relationships or mask qualities (Potteiger, 1998, 35). A second trope, synecdoche, is the “use of a part of something to represent the whole, or of the whole to stand for a part” (Potteiger, 1998, 37). Potteiger writes that this trope is especially effective in conjuring a “whole complex story just by using a piece or fragment from the story” (Potteiger, 1998, 37). The metonymy trope “constructs meaning by association” (Potteiger, 1998, 36). Historic preservation in landscape architecture often implements the metonymic trope as it designs and restores places that are “associated with certain events, periods, people, and styles” (Potteiger, 1998, 37). The final trope, irony, is the use of storytelling in the landscape that presents an “incongruity or ambiguity between expectations and reality, nature and artifice, revealing and concealing, and so on” (Potteiger, 1998, 38). To discover the narratives within the precedent study sites and how they might be employed in the design for reconciliation is important because narratives reflect a “cultural system of significance” (Potteiger, 1998, 32). This system of significance is explored when discussing the realms of storytelling. Potteiger and Purinton assert that understanding landscape narratives more deeply allows for “recognizing the importance of context, and expanding the notion of text and the role of readers in the production of meaning” (Potteiger, 1998, 32).

Empathy

Narrative and storytelling assumes knowledge and conveyed experience can open doors to understanding and appreciation. Which, in turn, moves the process of reconciliation further along. This study took the perspective that empathy generation is a facet of the personal process undertaken to understand another human being or group of people. Especially when stories are tragic or sad, being moved by the story or affected by a memorial assumes the recognition of the victims' humanity.

To understand how empathy is evoked and engaged, researchers have delineated key components of empathy into emotional, motivational, and cognitive facets described as emotional sharing, empathetic concern, and perspective-taking (Decety, 2014, 534). Decety and Cowell see these three distinct processes as a way to separate the umbrella term of empathy in order to articulate theories regarding interaction with moral cognition. Empathy is a concept recognized and studied theoretically and empirically in evolutionary biology, philosophy, developmental psychology, and social neuroscience.

Emotional sharing is a fundamental impetus for concern and care of others in distress (Decety, 2014, 529). The research specifically states, "observing another individual in distress or in pain induces a visceral arousal in the perceiver by eliciting neural response in a salience network that relates to interoceptive-autonomic processing and that triggers defensive and protective behaviors" (Decety, 2014, 530). Empathetic concern is particularly situated on foundations of animal research, that apply to species universally, substantiating and describing motivations as "very flexible" and "deeply rooted in our biology" (Decety, 2014, 530). Humans' capacity to generate empathy is reliant on three neural systems that sim-

ulate another individual's "actions, emotions and thoughts" (Hanson, 2009, 125). According to Suzanne Keen in "A Theory of Narrative Empathy," empathy is, "a vicarious, spontaneous sharing of affect, can be provoked by witnessing another's emotional state, by hearing about another's condition, or even by reading" (Keen, 2006, 208).

Empathetic emotional capacity has the potential outcome of changing attitudes, improving motives of people while stimulating the potential desire to care for individuals (Keen, 2006 and Hanson 2009). Empathetic response to the built form, be it architecture or art, is said to not be in the material but in the self reflected (Pallasmaa, 2011, 71). People's ability to identify a portion of themselves in another object or person is a building block for empathy. This subconscious emotional response affects and alters a person. As such, "empathy may result in a modification of the self as the consequence of knowledge of the other" (Pallasmaa, 2011, 71). Substantiated by Decety and Cowell, the function of empathetic concern as well as perspective-taking is linked to "social competence and social reasoning" and allows an individual to imagine another's experience or feelings (Decety, 2014). It is therefore arguable that building empathy sets a tone for understanding through a neurological process. Biological capabilities reside in all humans, but it is a practice of awareness and intention to attune oneself with another human or group (Hanson, 2009).

Humans evolved neurologically to assert the difference between the perceived 'us' and 'them' as a means for tribal survival and prominence (Hanson, 2009, 129). The Four C's, as offered by Dick Simon, provides that consciousness, curiosity, compassion, and challenge should be elements used to allow a person to connect with and understand persons of a different background through storytelling. "Themification"

is used by Dick Simon to describe a source of marginalization, stereotyping, and exclusionary practice. This is achieved through speech or thought, when used toward an unfamiliar or misunderstood group (Hanson, 2009 and Simon 2013). Similar to the notion of “them” used to differentiate between tribes for protection and bonding over scarce resources, Michelle Drumm’s argument of storytelling works in tandem as a resource for practice in memorial design; either in the design process, or the built form. The goal is for people to simplify the complex social structures and protect the self from ambiguity (Drumm, 2013). This can be done by personal story-telling as it allows for an individual’s ability to understand, feel, and empathize (Drumm, 2013). Narration of individual stories is given as a solution to build empathy and understanding. By retelling another person’s story the subject’s story is no longer isolated. Empathy in individuals strengthens social relationships and it would be advantageous to apply the empathy-building tools to the implementation and design of memorials as they are an enduring landscape typology; a typology which specifically reflects identity, memory, place and culture.

Indigenous Research

Concepts in narrative inquiry reveal much of what is important to consider in reflecting upon individual narratives, and especially narratives of those marginalized by revealing dilemmas or questions not previously known or understood through an open-form process. The National Museum of the American Indian opened in 2004 and was the last Smithsonian Museum to open on the National Mall (Shannon, 2008, x). While staff worked with native people’s narratives and exhibits, the following were features of the Americanist anthropologist approach (that took significant portions of time as it was a comprehensive ethnographic study) to the curatorial work:

- “1. Culture is a set of symbols in people’s heads, not (or at least not merely) the behaviors that arises from them.
2. Language, thought, and reality are mutually entailed in ways that are accessible to investigation.
3. Texts from Native speakers of Native Languages are appropriate for both ethnology and linguistics.
4. There is considerable urgency to record the knowledge encoded in oral traditions as part of the permanent record of human achievement.
5. “Traditional” culture is a moving target, always changing and adapting to new circumstances.
6. Native people are subjects and collaborators, not objects for study.
7. Field work takes a long time (Shannon, 2008, 33-34).”

Research in indigenous cultures by indigenous researchers was written about by Smith as a way to respectfully, ethically, sympathetically, and usefully engage in inquiry and response (Smith, 2012, 9). She details appropriate types of indigenous projects that act to reclaim, reformulate, and reconstitute indigenous cultures and languages (Smith, 2012, 143). The author did not wish to appropriate these methods, she simply wanted to shed light on methods that could be implemented to honor and serve an indigenous population. Figure 02.08 shows all twenty-five projects. Grayed-in circles indicate the projects most closely mimicked by this study and projects appropriate in the future to use as a non-indigenous researcher in such cultural landscapes like that of the Pine Ridge Reservation. The themes of specific projects speak directly to “cultural survival, self-determination, healing, restoration, and social justice” (Smith, 2012, 143).

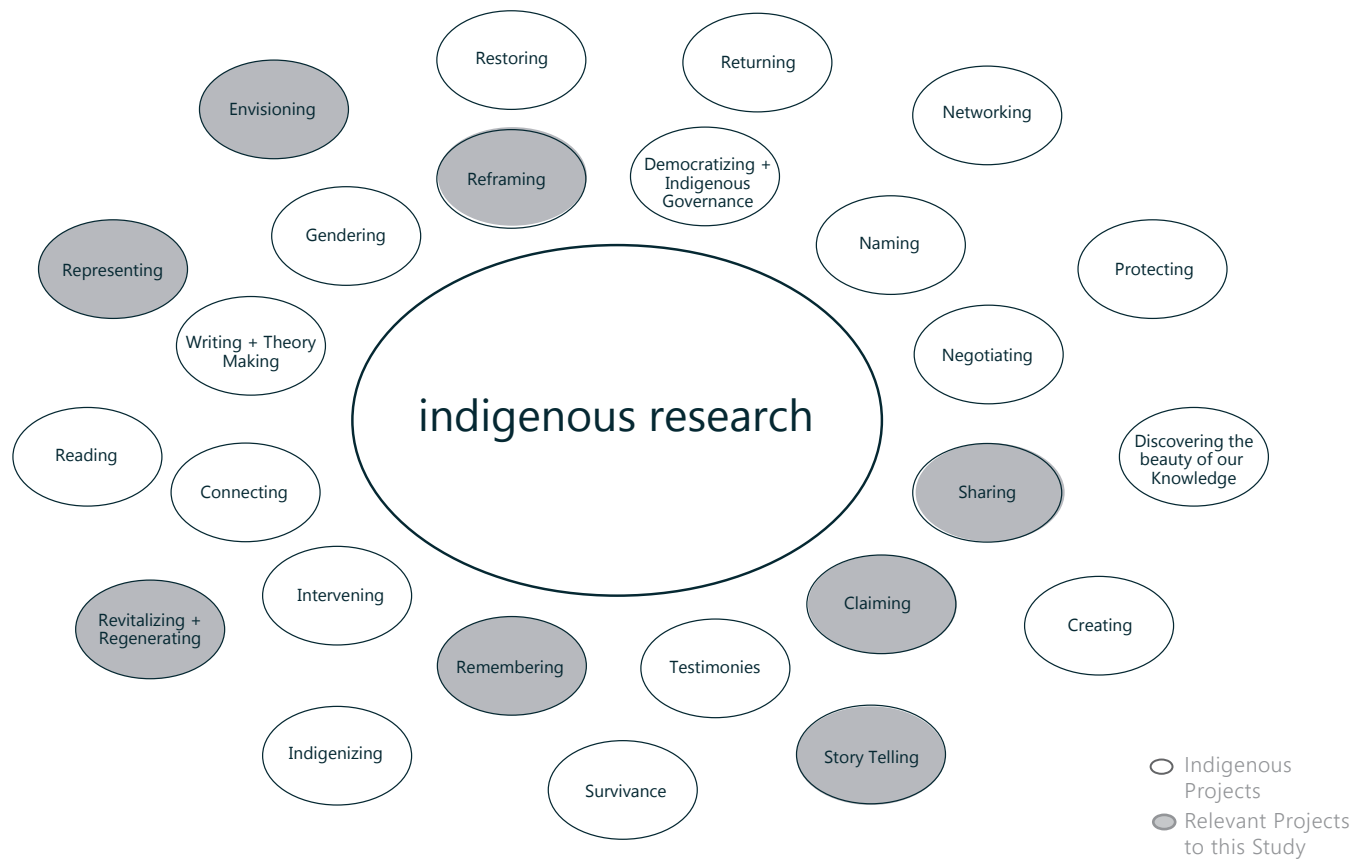


Figure 02.08 Indigenous Research Projects Engaged (Adapted from Smith 2012)

Commemoration as Conflict Resolution

“Debate over the tragedy sites is one way for victims and survivors to push for justice and redress. The sites can provide common ground for reconciliation of political factions, as well as rallying points for political change” (Foote, 2003, 354).

To understand how a memorial might function as a reconciliatory object or environment, the designer must first

understand where a breach in understanding has taken place. Maybe the issue is not misunderstanding; perhaps there has been a misrepresentation. Misrepresentation need not be characterized as intentional, but rather considering ways the past, and specifically reparations to offset past injustices, have been and continue to be misrepresented or under-represented. A misunderstanding in intention or possibly a misread of culture from an outside perspective could be clues to where alternate meanings occur. Mis-reads may stem

from current hurts with roots in the past. Characterizing what needs reconciling is not being dismissive of atrocities of the past. Instead, characterizing an issue gives a starting point to grapple with misunderstanding, examine the situation and move ahead. Considering the potential breach in understanding substantiates the need to consider the role of self-awareness, self-knowledge, and understanding the particular cultural, social and political context. Essentially, a designer needs to understand what the conflict is and who those in conflict are to such a degree that designs and the process of engagement don't produce further misrepresentations and misunderstanding.

If time and communication can heal, representation of this might be compared to personal relationships and how those concepts are translated to a person and the landscape and solely in the landscape: landscape architect with the landscape, with a client and the landscape itself as the mediator. The links between landscape architecture and conflict resolution have been strengthening in recent years. Landscape has been used as a medium for peace and reconciliation in terms of utility, biophilia, and ecological restoration. As quoted in *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, Saleem Ali (an environmental planning professor) makes the case that peace parks can act in ways in which "the environment, instead of causing conflict, can also resolve conflict- even if the conflict has nothing to do with the environment" (Hines, 2008, 38). While working with landscape to illicit better relationships between people, supported by a range of voices, from varying backgrounds, Ali states that "the promise inherent in peace parks is the networks and relationships established during and after the commitment to the park is made and day-to-day management begins" (Hines, 2008, 41). The necessity to involve people is at all scales and at all times during the process. Inclusivity is especially critical to projects

of memorialization, as this deals directly with personal and community identity. In the process of commemoration and memorialization, Foote calls for participation and debates inclusive of the public, as "the most fractious and eventually unsatisfying results occur when one group takes charge of decision making and excludes participation by others" (Foote, 2003, 342). Inclusive ability and scale might be a determiner in the equation. Lederach's call for more creativity in peacebuilding, the 'moral imagination', where he states that "reconciliation is dealing with the worst of the human condition," appears so very serious in nature (Lederach, 2005, 160). He offers,

"The pathway to healing may not lie with becoming more serious. This may explain one reason that people of so many geographies of violence have developed such an extraordinary senses of humor and playfulness" (Lederach, 2005, 160).

On a smaller scale, the work of Gustafson Porter (the firm comprised of Kathryn Gustafson, Neil Porter, and Mary Bowman in London) on several projects in Beirut uses landscape as a medium, an approach Gustafson is known for. By "excluding themselves" from the religious and sectarian issues the firm focused on narratives of the people and the terrain. This particular project, the Hadiqat As-Samah/Garden of Forgiveness is not a memorial garden but a healing garden that achieves the role of unity through "materiality of place" and a "firm engagement and interaction with the past as well as the present (Spens, 2007, 69). In this case, the narratives of the place in turmoil allowed for a level of transcendence through the very medium of the place. Through the use of metaphor, history, time, and storytelling there is allowance for personal interpretation, ownership, and healing. Of note with this project is the description of views within the designed plan: "No singular, prioritized view is

forced upon visitors – sectional variation is used to manipulate light and shade creating an overwhelming impression of serenity and even sublime” (Spens, 2007, 69).

Of equal sensitivity in memorial design intention, Maya Lin was responsible for the Lewis and Clark Memorial for the larger Columbia River Confluence Project. Her vision was to intertwine the history of Lewis and Clark in the landscape and use them as a lens rather than objectify them as a memorial (Rypl, 2016) The project was to reflect a sense of who they were and what they personified rather than simply using them to tell a story.

Landscape is inextricably linked to this study. With a group of marginalized people, forcibly moved across a space and ultimately encircled under the open skies of the prairie. Because of this, understanding and documenting, the landscape through site analysis is important spatially. But interviewing, story cultivation, and understanding is paramount in understanding the link between spatiality and temporality. For example, if stories regarding fear are situated in the landscape with a particular landform, or typology, it will be important to note. This could lead to a guideline that, depending on what type of commemorative action is appropriate, if at all, will determine if this aspect is highlighted in the design or removed. However, if reconciliation is meant to happen when landscape is incorporated where might it take place? Understanding and interpreting James Corner’s materiality, spatiality, and temporality served as a way to both view the landscape of Wounded Knee as the place where an atrocity occurred as well as the event.

Overtone for approach, in the study, were guided by concepts of conflict resolution realized through narrative (in the story and telling). The power of narrative to understand and

be witness to another’s story, “combining scientific research with artistic design elements” are understood to be deeper and “enable readers to vicariously experience the lives of people through their stories” (Kim, 2016, 137). Ethnographic research enables the landscape architect the ability to better understand local, social phenomena. Interviews support the culture by placing the focus on the individual and the importance of their personal knowledge and experience, by making them the source of knowledge (Kim, 2016).

Using ethnography as a type of research method could flow into a portion of design inquiry and approach to design by creatively retelling the narrative rather than interpreting. Narrative inquiry and specifically phenomenological approaches to understanding the experiences of those connected to Wounded Knee are complementary in the need to understand the nuances and the ability to deliver on the “dynamic, ambiguous and complicated phenomenon” (Kim, 2016, 58).

Summary

As it relates to this project, literature suggests the underrepresentation of Native Americans in the memorial landscape; quite possibly due to contested meaning of sites. The methodology section of this study outlines the methods undertaken to address this initial conclusion. The literature also shows congruences between conflict resolution and social justice research in understanding narratives, identity, and memory. Overlaps of these two areas also reveal that versions of storytelling can support social, cultural, political, and ecological narratives in and of the landscape.

Precedent Studies

Analyses of the following precedents were conducted to understand various memorial types to inform the final design. While all memorials were born of tragedy or violence in the landscape, and thus could be classified within the Foote typology, the memorials range in form, program, materiality, temporality and spatiality. The analysis of the precedents provides insight into the dilemma stated in the Introduction chapter, provides guidance for potential solutions and assists in developing guidelines for the process and form of a reconciliatory memorial design. Eight precedent studies were conducted. Average amount of time for each precedent studied ranged from five hours and up, as each site had varying amounts of information. The precedents were selected because of either the subject of commemoration or memorial type. Each precedent represents a portion of the following criteria for inclusion:

- Memorial of subject matter related to Wounded Knee.
- Author has visited.
- Commemorative landscape of violence, tragedy, or a combination.
- Abstracted memorial form (deemed a more inclusive type of memorial in terms of associated multiple narratives)
- Project or monument programmed for reconciliation.

Some challenges arose when distinguishing a memorial as a classification of sanctification or designation. Crucial to discerning the difference between these two classifications required more time investigating the role of public consecration of the project (representing the violent or tragic act). Consecration is important as it primarily differentiates between sanctification (consecrated) and designation (non-consecrated) sites.



Figure 02.09 Precedent Study Locations (by Author)

Figure 02.09 indicates the locations of precedents researched:

- Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride, South Dakota
- Wounded Knee Cemetery, Wounded Knee, South Dakota
- Vukovar Massacre Memorial Site, Croatia
- Japanese-American Historical Plaza, Portland, Oregon
- Remnants Zone Son My, Vietnam
- Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin
- Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red | WWI Memorial, London, England
- Salem Witch Trials Tercentenary Memorial, Salem, Massachusetts

Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride

South Dakota

Background + Relevance

This study considered the Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride because the context and purpose of the ride corresponded to both ‘Memorial of subject matter and connection to Wounded Knee,’ and ‘Commemorative landscape of violence, tragedy, or a combination.’ Also known as the Wounded Knee Memorial Ride (or other similar derivatives), this commemoration traces the path of Chief Big Foot (Spotted Elk is his Lakota name) and his band of Minneconjou and Hunkpapa Lakota who fled from Standing Rock Reservation (northern South Dakota) to the Pine Ridge Reservation (southern portion of South Dakota). The memorial ride officially began in December 1990 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Wounded Knee. However, riders practiced the route for four years leading up to the 1990 official ride. The memorial ride begins on December 15, with ceremonies the day before in McLaughlin, South Dakota, and culminates with arrival at Wounded Knee on December 29, the date of the original massacre in 1890. Though participants ride on horseback, there is one wagon, which commemorates the original conveyance of Chief Big Foot who was ill with pneumonia during their flight.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

Participants ride horseback while others draw wagons, ceremoniously representing the journey of the Minneconjou and Hunkpapa, from the Standing Rock Reservation to Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Ceremonies mark the beginning of the ride on December 14 with the ride commencing the following morning. There are designated stops along the way for all those involved in the memorial ride.

Shown in figure 02.10, these stops commemorate the stops taken by Big Foot’s band (of Minneconjou and Hunkpapa). The memorial ride flows through the landscape. Riders travel more than 190 miles while experiencing open prairie, savannah landscapes, riparian areas as well as the sedimentary rock formations of the badlands. There are physical markers along the way (Bigfoot Pass and Big Foot Road) signifying Big Foot’s flight south. Big Foot Pass Overlook, in the Badlands, is along the edge of Highway 240, south of Interstate 90. As this ride takes place in the winter, those taking part in the commemoration often experience harsh weather.

Footnote Typology

This memorial could be classified as sanctification, because a form of consecration has taken place. Consecration separates sanctification from designation. Ceremonies and rites at specific locations take place each year to honor those that died during the massacre. This is an atypical type of sanctification as the temporal aspect of movement through the landscape is on such a large scale. The remembrance comes through the storied path rather than physical objects.

Conclusion

This type of commemoration would affect participants and observers alike as it is meaningful, educational, and promotes identity-building. Those that participate gain better understanding of the tragedy by considering ways that empathy, as ‘perspective-taking’, is neurologically built. A commemorative reenactment prompts an outsider to understand the experience of the Lakota bands during their flight south.

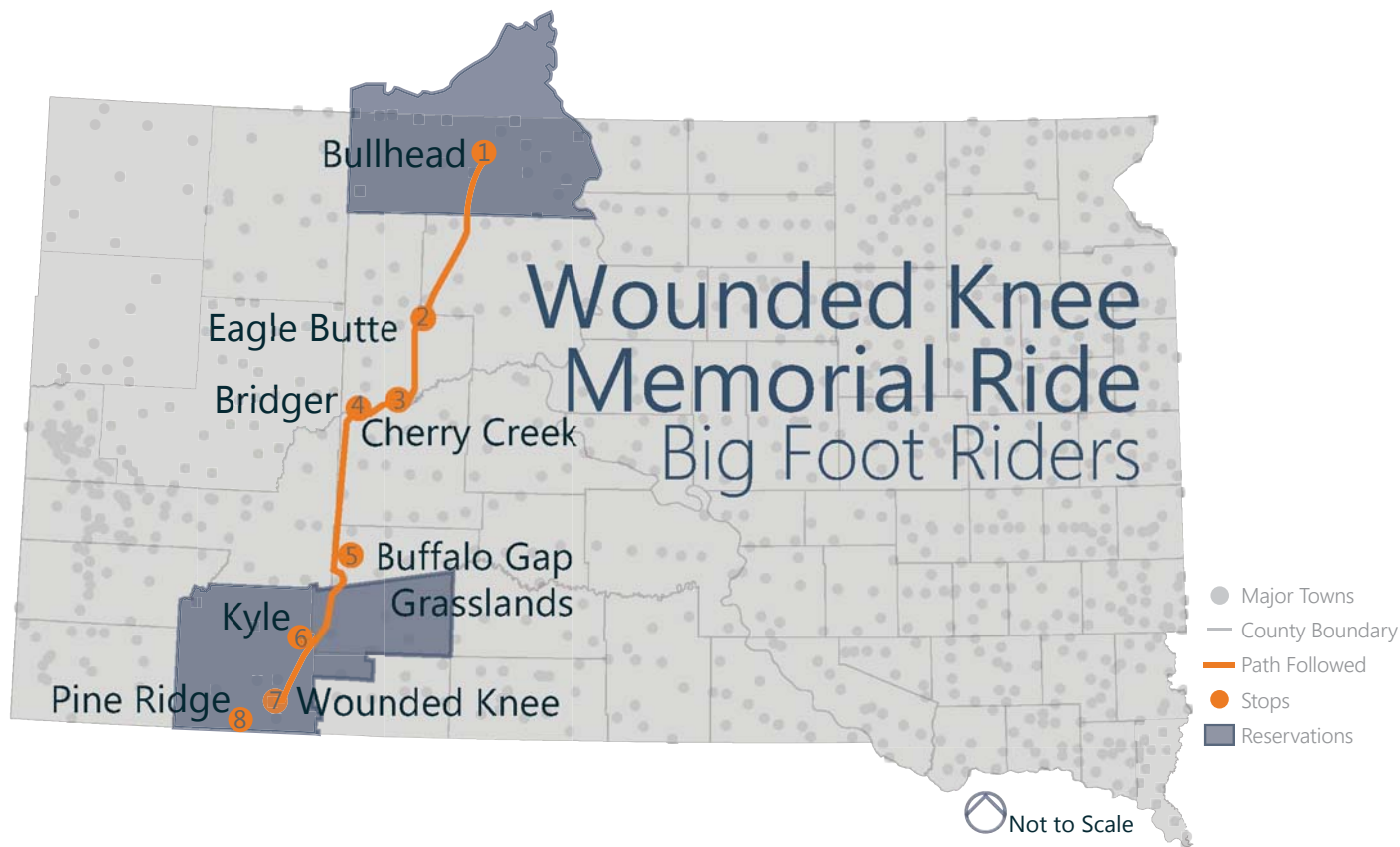


Figure 02.10 Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride (by Author)

Observers have a chance to watch the ceremony as the Big Foot Riders ride or they might also witness the ceremonies at some of the stops. However, reenactment of this kind requires participation of which not everyone has the ability nor time. Observers would need to know times and locations of the events as the casual tourist would most likely miss the ride because of its temporal nature and timing in the off-season. There are physical, social (availability to join in), and temporal limitations to this form of commemoration.

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input type="checkbox"/>

Wounded Knee Monument + Cemetery

Wounded Knee, South Dakota

Background + Relevance

The Wounded Knee Cemetery is included in the precedent sites as it is also directly related to Wounded Knee. In 1903, a six-foot high granite monument was erected at the side of the mass grave by some of the Minneconjou and Hunkpapa survivors. The monument is located atop the hill, overlooking both a dry creek bed and Wounded Knee Creek, where the seventh cavalry positioned their guns during Wounded Knee.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

Situated atop the hill overlooking the shallow valley, the cemetery layout draws its organizing principles from the monument. Spatial order in the cemetery is a combination of radial and linear. The formal entrance to the cemetery is marked by an arch acting as a threshold to the sacred space within the roughly defined cemetery perimeter. The arched form frames the 6 ft. tall gray granite rectilinear monument and its chain link fence enclosure. A 6-inch thick sidewalk is a long linear form that leads the observer from the archway. The walk abruptly terminates at the on-axis chain-link fence entrance. The chain link fence was added along the perimeter of the monument, separating the area from the rest of the cemetery that is still in use. The multiple fences and formal entrance to the cemetery surrounding the monument and enclose and define the space around the singular monument (figure 02.11). Engraved with many of the names of the Lakota massacred, the engraving states:

“This monument is erected by surviving relatives and other Ogalala and Cheyenne River Sioux Indians in memory of the Chief Big Foot massacre December 29,

1890. Col. Forsyth in command of US troops. Big Foot was a great chief of the Sioux Indians. He often said, ‘I will stand in peace till my last day comes.’ He did many good and brave deeds for the white man and the red man. Many innocent women and children who knew no wrong died here” (National Park Service, 1992, 39).

The cemetery is programmatically typical, but is spatially atypical in the growth and expansion of the cemetery as it radiates and orients itself out from a singular stone with such reverence and respect. North of the monument and cemetery is a church. The author observed, and was told by a local tour guide while visiting the cemetery, that flags and bundles of indigenous herbs are ceremoniously tied to the fence (on the monument and head stones in some instances) for ancestors in honor of their memory. The flags are traditional Lakota colors of red, black, white and yellow. Herbs in the bundles are often sage or tobacco. People can bring their own bundles or purchase them from local people selling such items at the base of the hill, under the shades. The shades are temporal structures that stay year round, but the roof is built up with indigenous branches during the summer months. The author was told non-indigenous people do not go inside the chain link fence, as that area is sacred to relatives or tribe members.

There are walking paths throughout the head stones in the cemetery within and on the outside of the fence (figure 02.13, next page). The paths directly adjacent to the cemetery appear to be pedestrian formed. Paths leading to the cemetery from the road, at the base of the trail, are vehicular and



Figure 02.11 1903 Monument Dedicated by Massacre Survivors
(by Author)

pedestrian formed (figure 02.12). Both paths appear to be worn based on ease of access (desire lines) to the cemetery rather than a formal arrangement.

Vegetation includes native grasses, forbs and ten coniferous and deciduous trees planted randomly within the bounds of the cemetery.



Figure 02.12 Unpaved Road Climbs to Cemetery and Mass Grave
(by Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input type="checkbox"/>



Foote Typology

The monument to the massacre is considered designation. Initially, the author classified this memorial as sanctification, as the granite marker was consecrated in 1903 by survivors of the massacre. Consecration is the strongest determinate of sanctification over designation. There is potential that a place consecrated long ago, more than a century, may lose its significance if the collective conscious of the current society no longer holds an event or place as sacred (Foote, 2003 and Wolschke-Bulmahn 2001). While this marker may have originally been an expression of sanctification, the site actually performs more as designation given the minority status of the Lakota. Minority causes are often designation sites that shift to sanctification once their cause is accepted by the larger majority. According to Foote, the minority cause correlation of designation is very typical of Native Americans,

Chinese-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and the American labor movement (Foote, 2003, 18).

It seems people unfamiliar with the reservation and Lakota culture are generally not aware how passionate the Lakota feel about Wounded Knee as a massacre; as many people still refer to it as a battle. This observation is based on conversations the author has had with young adults on various Pine Ridge Reservation workcamps, and speaking with individuals, in social situations, regarding this work over the last several years. These observations speak to the contest over meaning and lag in recognition of the Wounded Knee landscape as a site of sanctification. In addition to the minority cause, and the contested meaning, there is also a demand for a public apology from the federal government to the Lakota in regards to Wounded Knee.



Figure 02.13 Looking East from Cemetery, beside Mass Grave and 1903 Monument (by Author)

Conclusion

This form of designation commemoration appears to be quite meaningful and educational when aided by reservation guides or historians. The author has visited this memorial on four separate occasions and found the most meaningful times to be that which were accompanied with a local guide during the summer and a subsequent visit on a very cold (single digits with wind) November morning. The verbal stories were meaningful the first time and helped the author connect to the social plight of those commemorated and the current state of the reservation. The starkness of the landscape evoked during the cold November morning created more of a physical memory. This type of memorial is sacred as it holds the physical remains of those that were lost, and replaces the physical position from which the attack took place in the landscape. Meaning would be significantly

lessened if the author had not experienced the tour guide's stories or had pointed out the inscription on the monument. Description of what is being commemorated, in this instance, is helpful and needed for outsiders to orient themselves to the tragedy.

Ovčara Memorial Center Vukovar, Croatia

Background + Relevance

Ovčara Memorial Center is a memorial commemorating the Vukovar massacre, by Serbians, of Croatian prisoners of war and civilians that took place on November 20, 1991, during the Croatian War of Independence. This war was an ethnic conflict from 1991-1995, part of the Yugoslav Wars that broke up the former Yugoslavia. The massacre is also known as the Vukovar Hospital Massacre or the Ovčara massacre. Victims were predominately Serbian Croat and Croat prisoners of war, hospital staff and civilians. Around 300 people were taken from the hospital to a pig farm, three miles southeast of Vukovar where 263 were shot and buried in a mass grave.

This memorial, which opened November 20, 2006, is included in the precedent study because of its tragic nature, it's similarity to Wounded Knee (victims were moved from one place to another), the associative competing truths, and because Vukovar has been previously studied, using ethnographic methodology (regarding memorials functioning in states with transitional justice). Transitional justice in this instance refers to the judicial or non-judicial reparations made to acknowledge and improve major human rights infractions. In this case, massacres occurring during times of war. Janine Natalya Clark undertook Vukovar as an ethnographic case study to understand the role memorials play in advancing or impeding the healing process in a post conflict region (Clark, 2013).

Vukovar suffered the bulk of the damage during the war and which led to many memorials created in the city and immediate region. Memorials have exceptional presence in Vukovar,

the tourist website for the city even features 'memorials' as one of the six title on its permanent homepage banner. The 'memorial tab lists multiple memorials to the massacre and other events during the war, including:

- Place of Remembrance- Vukovar Hospital;
- Memorial Home and the Mass Grave Ovčara;
- Memorial Cemetery of the Homeland War;
- Memorial Patriotic War;
- Memorial House of Croatian Defenders on Trpinja Road;
- Water Tower;
- The Cross at the Mouth of the Vuka River.

The hospital memorial features a re-creation of the original hospital where people were removed. Within the original hospital, plastic dummies depict the civilians, POWs, and staff.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

The farm where the victims were taken and murdered was redesigned as a small commemorative museum, visitor center (entrance to visitor center, figure 02.15), and outdoor monument. The museum is open every day of the week from 10am-5pm. Included within the museum and visitor center:

- Multi-media exhibition detailing the massacre
- Black walls
- Memorial flame in center of the room
- Original bullets pressed into the floors



Figure 02.14 Crucifix at Ovčara Museum with Offerings
(Adapted by Author)



Figure 02.15 Ovčara Museum Entrance (Adapted by Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee ☐

Author Has Visited ☐

Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination ☒

Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation ☒

Abstracted Form ☐

The museum provides a pamphlet describing the museum. The quality of the museum appears to be a fusion of modern architecture, with gray stone and concrete articulating the façade, adjacent signage, and pathways. The museum is directly off the main street of the original farm and the sculpture is found singularly marking the mass grave in the nearby open, agricultural field. The single slab sculpture features the subtracted form of an abstracted dove enclosed within the tall flat, reflective stone. The dove monument was created by a sculptor from Zagreb, Croatia. People pay their respects by laying flower wreaths at the small stone base. As seen in figure 02.14, a crucifix located along the exterior of the museum is another location people pay respects to the victims by leaving small offerings (Hohenhaus, 2016).

Footnote Typology

Many of the separate events that comprised the fighting in Vukovar have been recognized, but the expressions of commemoration have been very one-sided. Public consecration is evident and initially appears as a form of sanctification. However, the exclusion of Serbian experiences (of losses and examples of their help) in Vukovar is that of designation. It appears to be a unique example within the Footnote Typology as it is a place of sanctification within a larger landscape of designation. Sanctification of the Ovčara is considered “the worst atrocity committed during the war in Croatia” (Clark, 2014, 127). Serbian voice as counter-narrative for this memorial would be insensitive and not speak to the symbolic nature of what occurred at Ovčara as the victims were “the sick and wounded, people in need of medical care and treatment, and they were removed from a place of relative safety and summarily executed” (Clark, 2014, 127).

Conclusion

Vukovar, overall, is characterized as a city with memorials of ‘selective remembrance’ and those which exclude “certain groups of victims.” Vukovar is important as a post-conflict city exhibiting stages of transitional justice both judicially and non-judicially. One study in particular has used ethnographic methods to research the role memorials, as reconciliatory form, perform as more immediate pacifiers in post-conflict areas. The immediacy of memorials in contrast to the little positive effect tribunals have had on the peace process between Serbs and Croats of Vukovar was a major reason the study was conducted. While the Ovčara memorial site functions in such a way that should not be erased or forgotten, the study clearly shows that when a society is drenched in painful memories, within decades of the crimes and bloodshed, memorials depicting singular voices impede reconciliation. Memories remain fresh and they fuel the “problem of too much memory” (Clark, 2014, 119). The author concludes that there should be shared truths, through reaching certain levels of agreement between conflictants and eventually constructing joint memorials. It is especially critical that those in conflict work together on this (Clark, 2014, 129). The greater context of Vukovar, through annual ceremonies throughout the city, ritualistically push the story of “us and them”, “never forget”, and creates a landscape where the “past continues to intrude heavily upon the present.” In this case, the ritual or reminding is done in such a way that there is no space to move forward; an insight to be considered in the context of memory and Wounded Knee. This is a place where the majority controls the past and “the past controls the future” (Clark, 2014, 135).

Japanese American Historical Plaza Portland, OR by Robert Murase

Background + Relevance

Robert Murase's Japanese American Historical Plaza commemorates forced imprisonment and relocation of Japanese American internment in the United States during World War II. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor and ensuing American hysteria and racial prejudice, Japanese Americans were placed in internment camps, under direction of the federal government. Murase's memorial design proposal was submitted, under sponsorship from the Japanese American Citizens League, to be located at the north end of the existing Tom McCall Waterfront Park. The plaza plan was accepted in 1988 and the official dedication was on August 3, 1990.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

The plaza is in an active corridor along the Willamette River waterfront in addition to being a place for remembrance and reflection. The plaza bisects a strip of turf that connects a four-lane road and the riverfront. The main axis of the plaza meets the sidewalk along the perimeter and acts as an entrance to the waterfront from the pedestrian walkways on either side of the intersection. The plaza includes thirteen stones of basalt and granite, as well as paving patterns of brick and flagstone with sloped retaining walls that recede back into small berms flanking the main axis.

Shown in figure 02.16, the plaza also has tall, columnar bas-relief sculptures depicting the hardships of Japanese-Americans in Oregon (Sakamoto, 2016). Poems by Oregon poets are engraved on the surface. These columns are positioned just off the main spine that connects the street to the riverfront. The columns flank the perpendicular

path so pedestrian walk between the columns when walking towards the riverfront. On the way to the riverfront, the path is interrupted by the final central stone with the name of the ten Japanese American internment camps. The stone has flagstones positioned radially around it as the ground-plane. The central stone metaphorically evokes a sense of permanence to the people that experienced turbulence and injustice. The flagstones are meant to represent the shattered nature and disruption to their lives caused by internment of the Japanese Americans. Their stories are further articulated through other upright, engraved stones that flank the large stone in the center. These particular engraved stones are dispersed throughout the tertiary curvilinear paths and stonewalled berms.

Footnote Typology

It is difficult gauge the distinction between designation, rectification, and sanctification because the plaza was publicly dedicated but not in such a way that the area feels sacred or is used ritually. The area is maintained but most likely not by people connected to the plight of Japanese Americans. It is most likely maintained by public works staff. The plaza's clear bounding and delineations in groundplane material might suggest sanctification. However, as a whole, the entirety of factors contribute to a site being one of designation.

Conclusion

This memorial has won numerous awards, including specific honors for waterfront design. Having personally visited this memorial, it was moving to be able to interact with the sculptural elements of the columns, meander among the stones



Figure 02.16 Sculptural Bas-Relief Column Detail (by Author)

placed along the adjacent paths, and walk by the recessed stone retaining wall. It was a beautiful space but it felt as though the activation of the space moved people through rather than creating a space for people linger and understand the memorial. While details were beautifully detailed, it al-

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input type="checkbox"/>

most seemed to beautify a quite ugly event in history.

Remnants Zone Son My Son My, Vietnam

Background + Relevance

My Lai, also called Son My (by Vietnamese), was a civilian massacre carried out by United States Army, the Charlie Company, on March 16, 1968 during the Vietnam War. Estimates vary, but nearly 500 women, children, and elderly were brutally murdered, houses were burned and livestock killed, in My Lai (see figure 02.18), a hamlet of the Son My village, in the Quang Ngai province, along the Vietnamese coast. My Lai was one of four other similar hamlets and was actually referred to as 'My Lai 4' by the US government. This attack was carried out based on false information believing My Lai to be a haven for the Viet Cong (VC) or National Liberation Front (NLF). My Lai was considered a "return village" or "safe village" a place where other displaced villagers could resettle as ROK (republic of Korea) and allied US military were nearby and were believed to improve the security in the area (Linder, 2016).

The complexity of the Vietnam War is an issue not delved into for this precedent study, though it is important to understand the controversy surrounding the difficulty of a 'village level' war presents. This type notes the difficulty in assigning meaning on some levels as the truths surrounding such a violent act are muddled. This varying 'level' in the Vietnam War was termed a "VC" or "No VC" village. The distinguishing characteristics regard the distinction between "paid, full-time professional soldiers" and villagers that fought for different reasons of which many villagers fought to survive rather than to win. These lay soldiers were not a militia per se, in times of peace they were farmers and when need be, they

would lay down their farming equipment and become combatants; the lines between civilian and soldier blurred. During months of ethnographic research, social anthropologist Heonik Kwon observed such complexity while interviewing surviving villagers in the Son My hamlets and environs.

"These people were Vietcong fighters and they were not. They were ordinary farmers and they were not. Their identity shifted as they themselves shifted from the battlefield to village life and back to another battlefield again and again. They did not necessarily carry the village identity to the battlefield, and their fighter identity was not always carried to the deceptively quiet village social life. They were both soldiers and peasants, yet they could also be neither" (Kwon, 2006, 58).

Kwon observed and questioned survivors in Ha My and My Lai (both massacres of the same scale), and in further asserting the complexity of historical accuracy recalls the duality of former Viet Minh activists. These fighters, elders from the French war living in Ha My and My Lai (and other similar villages/hamlets) in which the doctrine speaks of unsettled political and moral identity: "Tinh quan dan nhu ca voi nuoc" (People are the water, and our army the fish) and the war decree "Each inhabitant [is] a soldier, each village a fortress" (Kwon, 2006, 58).

With dwindling morale among United States foot soldiers in Vietnam and response to villages described above, the US employed unsuccessful "search-and-destroy" campaigns. Much like Wounded Knee, the Massacre at My Lai was a



Figure 02.19 My Lai Memorial Site- Vietnam- Diorama of Massacre
(Adapted by Author)

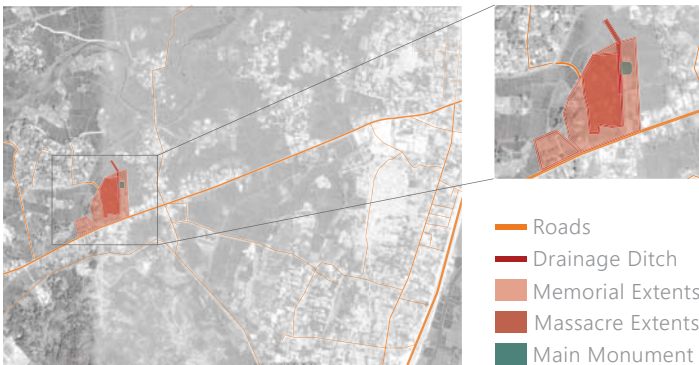


Figure 02.18 My Lai Village Massacre Memorial Map View (By Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input type="checkbox"/>



Figure 02.21 My Lai Memorial Site- Vietnam- Main Monument
(Adapted by Author)

turning point for the cause/war it was associated with. The brutality exhibited by the US military at My Lai included rape, torture and dragging dozens into a ditch before executing them. The massacre was eventually stopped by a US officer attempting to land his aircraft. The massacre was covered up by higher up officials and eventually was brought to light when an officer contacted an investigative journalist. When news broke of the brutality and subsequent cover up by US military, the anti-Vietnam War sentiments intensified. Sadly,



Figure 02.20 My Lai Memorial Site- Vietnam- Garden Statuary 2
(Adapted by Author)



Figure 02.22 My Lai Memorial Site- Vietnam- Trench of 170 Victims (Adapted by Author)

the only differentiating quality My Lai has was the scale at which the atrocity occurred. Many villages, on smaller scales experienced the same fate. During research, Kwon was told that many of the ghosts of massacred victims from smaller villages, which experienced smaller scale killings, were jealous of the other ghosts at My Lai. Villagers stated that if you had the unlucky chance of being in a massacre, one should at least hope to be in a large enough one that attention is paid.

The memorial that commemorates the victims is on the original site of the massacre. Remnants Zone Son My is a national monument supported by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Vietnam, recognized in April 29, 1979. In 2003, the same group supported a new contract to improve and upgrade the building. An annual observation of the massacre takes place each year at the memorial. In recent years, family members of the victims have exhumed and moved the remains of their family members to new, private

locations. The significance of My Lai and similar wartime tragedies of “bad deaths” are summarized in the unique socio-political perspective:

“To claim the dead for the state, to use them as heroes, can mean removing them from the web of relationships with their communities and lineage groups; the national and the local can work at cross purposes. As political power shifts, so too do bodies. To change the actual location for a body through reburial is actually to shift its place in understanding, to reinterpret as well as reinter. Corpses in postwar Vietnam are moved from place to place, reflecting changing and conflicting political identities and economic forms, the assertion of ties of family against those of the state, the new legitimacy of the private sector, or simply the opportunities peace offers to attend to the dead. An altered political economy, with new ways of defining expression and obligation. The insistent presence of ghosts helps to define these duties and necessities, rendering the cultural implications of war’s meaning unavoidable” (Faust, 2006, xii).

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

Remnants Zone Son My is a nearly six-acre site situated along a major road in rural Quang Ngai province. Entrance to the site is flanked by columns with signage. The drive forms the main access of the site with the museum situated just off this arterial corridor. The building/museum has a cafeteria, lounge, and shows a documentary, *The Sound of the Violin in My Lai*. The modern Vietnamese architecture of the building, newly updated, is surrounded by vegetated terraces radiating out from the building footprint. Low walls retain the plantings with interspersed seating. Here, and throughout the site are trees, dedicated to honor the Vietnamese as an offering of peace (at least one from a US soldier). Moving

past the memorial, the long corridor is lined with statues depicting defiant Vietnamese (Figures 02.20 and 02.21). The terminus, figure 02.21, is meant to capture the spirit and resiliency of the Vietnamese. All human form statues are on pedestals. Many of these figural sculpture have a dedicated spot for incense (or other gifts) to honor the victims and their ghosts.

Color on the site is in the form of native vegetation and replicas of the slain livestock among the burned houses and other slain animals. These animals, much like the interior diorama (reference Figure 02.19) graphically depict the horrific death by featuring painted blood and gore. These statuary are found throughout the site on a grid pattern, reflective of the original village spatial geometry.

Details of the programmatic elements at the memorial are difficult to determine as are their associated forms and locations in the site. The author cross-referenced pictures with maps, Google, books, and articles to determine program and layout. The author utilized translations of many Vietnamese websites to understand these elements. According to a direct translation (lightly edited for clarity):

“Outside the campus remnants... is the stele erected in places that have happened the shootings. This is a watch-tower on the edge of the village, the small dirt road Thuan Yen to 102 people were shot dead. KIA is cottonwoods where 15 women and children were killed... Among the landscapes he loved quiet headstone marking the 97 people in the village were slaughtered every day” (TITC, 2016).

As stated above, this outdoor space contains monuments and statuary of people, livestock, housing remains (concrete pads and structural beams, in some cases), small burial markers (figure 02.23), and signage. An example of the signage details



Figure 02.23 My Lai Memorial Site - Vietnam - 12 Victims (Adapted by Author)

the specifics and case for inclusion of the drainage ditch in figure 02.22. Contained within the site is a concrete foot-path with the imprints of soldier boot prints and barefooted villagers. The bottom right corner of figure 02.22 shows the path and embedded footprints.

Footnote Typology

In the context of the Vietnamese culture, this memorial site is indicative of sanctification. There is ritualized commemoration each year, it is meticulously cared for, and there was a change of ownership; all attributes reveal “fields of care” (Foote, 2003, 9)

Conclusion

The memorial is informative in its raw depiction of the horrors that took place to the Vietnamese by the Charlie Com-

pany (and by the US Army in so many other villages), but women in the Quang Ngai province sought a different type of remembrance. The action of these local women speaks to the greater community response to the original memorial and its performative function of reconciliation. The Women’s Union of the province requested a place of remembrance that had “no artillery pieces, no statues, no monuments to war.” They inferred Remnants Zone Son My. Instead, they wanted, and have since achieved a place with “trees, flowers, shrubs, and fish ponds making it a green, living monument to peace” (Madison, 2016). In this case, the reconciliatory aspect comes from moving forward. The massacre site and memorial hold value for educational purposes and honoring

victims, but the peace park speaks to those alive while still honoring the victims and their ghosts.

Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe Berlin, by Peter Eisenman and Laurie Olin

Background + Relevance

The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe is Germany's Holocaust Memorial located in Berlin between the Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburg Gate. The memorial honors and remembers the nearly six million Jewish Holocaust victims of World War II (Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2016).

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

The "Field of Stelae" is open to the public 24/7 along with a subterranean information centre and exhibition space located within the perimeter of the field. This information centre is on the eastern edge of the site, along the adjacent street. The "Field of Stelae" is comprised of 2,711 individual stele of varying heights (.65ft- 15.4ft) but with the same width (7.8ft) and depth (3.1ft) dimensions. The stelae, stone slabs used for funerary commemoration, are designed to reflect the dimensions of an individual coffin. The plaza, with the field of stelae and informational museum, comprises a full city block of almost five acres. It becomes apparent that the entire site is on a very tight grid from the outside looking over the entire field as well as in the interior of the space when sightings of people become more and more fleeting.

As the stelae vary in height, so does the ground plane undulate. The two topographies of the stelae and the ground plane represent how "a systemized murder of millions of innocent people did not happen overnight; it was a gradual slope" (Poland, 2011). Figures 02.24-02.27 depict the immer-

sive qualities from the outside of the field to the central position, fully immersed within the field. The symbolism is rich, but Eisenman and Olin designed with the intent to create a monument that let the viewers experience their own interpretations (Chin et al, 2011). In the author's own experience, the sheer height of an individual stele was quite disorienting when isolated in the center of the field.

An online list of rules describes how people should conduct themselves in the space. The "Rules of Conduct for the Field of Stelae" provides a disclaimer of personal responsibility for entering the site, notes about accessibility and mobility impairment, and behavior not permitted. The following activities are not permitted: "Loud noise of any kind; jumping from one stele to the next; Bringing dogs and other pets onto the grounds; Bringing and parking bicycles or similar equipment; Smoking and consumption of alcoholic beverages." (Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2016)

Footnote Typology

This Holocaust memorial is an expression of sanctification of violence and tragedy in the landscape because the Holocaust is widely accepted as an event that must be remembered so as not to repeat the horrors that ensued. Foote's typology looks at events and their collective representation in the landscape. The design truly transforms the site into a symbolic reminder of the horrific progression that led to massive extermination expressed through the simple materiality of the palette and the undulating ground and overhead planes.



Figure 02.24 Ground Plane Undulation (Adapted by Author)



Figure 02.25 Context
(Adapted by Author)



Figure 02.26 Interaction
(Adapted by Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input type="checkbox"/>



Conclusion

After the memorial was built, pointed criticism was given from the Jewish community. Taken from interviews with this community was the question, ‘who is the memorial for, exactly?’ and the comments, “we did not ask for it” and “we do not want it” (Brody, 2012). The article states that representatives of the Jewish community were not entirely in support of the project. Some believe the title to be too vague, and not referencing the Holocaust implies a vagueness that is “disturbing” (Brody, 2012). The other objection is the lack of

signage letting users know what the plaza is. That aside, the emotions evoked, for the author of this report, were intense and seemed to fulfill many roles. The plaza has a sense of utility with the stelae at pedestrian level, acting as seating along the perimeters. The sense of unsettling enclosure and relative aloneness was palpable in the experience of descending into the center of the site. A friend sent the author photos of her own time in the memorial this past year. Shown above, in figure 02.27, the presence of imposing stones focuses the



Figure 02.27 Solemn Scale and Interaction (Adapted by Author)

view up and forward in a very controlled manner. The undulating groundplane is treaded upon by many people at once, yet the individual only catches glimpses of the other inhabitants. Aesthetically, the starkness and simplicity of material allowed the story to sing rather than have a person get lost in busy detailing; the starkness is focusing, and the focus is solemn.

Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red London, by Cummins and Piper

Background + Relevance

“After a hundred years, stories of the First World War are fading from memory. How can we keep them alive?” (Historic Royal Palaces, 2016) This temporary commemorative installation of individual ceramic poppies was created to honor the first full day of Britain entering the war. The installation was part of the larger *Tower of London Remembers* commemorative event. The memorial had poppies flowing from a window of the Tower of London forming a sea within the moat and cantilevering over the entrance bridge.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

The *Tower of London Remembers* included the *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red*, which involved dedications to soldiers, music played daily at sunset during the installation (Roll of Honour), multiple potters and staff for production, volunteer workers for planting, and charity support at the culmination of the installation. The uniqueness of this memorial is found in the process of poppy creation and subsequent removal of the installation. Each of the 888,246 poppies, 16 acres in total, represented a British life lost (figure 02.28 depicts poppy detail). The “planting” (installation) began on July 17, 2014 and was subsequently unveiled to mark one hundred years since Britain’s involvement in the war on August 4. The effect of empathy generation was expressed in a short film describing the installation and process, from concept to creation, with individuals reflecting on the process used to create the simple ceramic poppies (Historic Royal Palaces, 2016).

Paul Cummins (ceramic artist) and Tom Piper (set designer) were the people responsible for creating the installation. The inspiration and name of the installation, *Blood Swept Lands and*

Seas of Red, was taken from an unknown soldier’s letter that Cummins happened upon by chance. The soldier that died in Flanders wrote, “The blood-swept lands and seas of red, where angels fear to tread” (Brown, 2014). The installation began with poppies cascading from a high window at the Tower of London. The ceramic poppies filled the moat that surrounds the Tower of London, arching over the bridge. The brightly glazed, red poppies were attached to metal shafts, “planted” upright within the moat at varying heights, roughly mid-ankle and above. The effect of the raised poppies and close planting resulted in the appearance of a beautiful curvilinear-edged flower field (figure 02.29 and 02.30).

Cummins reflected that the people helping make the poppies were in some way connected to the armed forces. The production was based in Derby. The team was comprised of nearly seventy percent potters. During the production stage, one potter stated, “Not one flower in this building is the same... so they are special” (Historic Royal Palaces, 2016). While another potter commented on her own reflections during the production of the ceramic flowers, saying, “Always at the forefront of my mind, each one of these represent a soldier that died” (Historic Royal Palaces, 2016). In addition, simply put, another woman states, “Some days it can get emotional” (Historic Royal Palaces, 2016).

Those that were affected were not only the five million visitors, but also the thousands of volunteers who helped plant the succession of poppies. In a *Guardian* article, Piper states, “It became part of the work that it was always in a state of flux, always flowing. There was a great sense of theatre from



Figure 02.29 Tower of London with Overflowing Poppies
(Adapted by Author)



Figure 02.28 Poppy Detail (Adapted by Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>



the people planting, the people watching and then every night the roll of honour” (Brown, 2014). Further describing the installation, Cummins comments “The gradual planting meant using thousands of volunteers and their stories – whether they lost someone in a conflict or have sons and daughters serving abroad – have become part of the piece” (Brown, 2014).

Armistice Day on November 11th, marking the end of the war, the installation concluded. The poppies were sold, raising mil-

lions of dollars to support six service charities: Cobseo, Combat Stress, Coming Home, Help for Heroes, The Royal British Legion, and Soldiers’, Sailors’, and Airmen’s Families Association (SSAFA).

Foote Typology

World War I is an event of sanctification. The purpose of this memorial was to remind people of the stories, meaning, and sacrifices of Britain in the war.



Figure 02.30 Poppies Cascading over Bridge (Adapted by Author)

Conclusion

The manner and scale in which this commemorative installation was created and executed is provocative. It moved and reminded people during all phases of the project and its ramifications were positive effects radiating out into the future. The making, installing, and observation of the piece resonated with people, and the proceeds reach out to those still affected by war. *Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red* is truly a commemorative piece that honors the past and honors the future.

Salem Witch Trials Tercentenary Memorial Salem, MA by James Cutler

Background + Relevance

This memorial honors the twenty innocent people killed that were suspected of witchcraft in Salem during the hysteria and subsequent witchcraft trials of 1692. The memorial was a collaborative effort between architect James Cutler and artist Maggie Smith for an international competition in 1991.

Materiality + Spatiality + Temporality

The memorial is located in downtown Salem and situated within the oldest cemetery in town, The Old Burying Point, where many of the 1692 citizens are buried (Wines, 1997 and salemweb, 2016). Cutler and Smith conceptualized the notion of ‘injustice’ through four metaphoric expressions. The themes of silence, deafness, persecution, and memory were evoked by the use of stone, vegetation and site grading. The memorial is a rectilinear depression bounded by weathered granite walls, which create the boundary against the surrounding cemetery and the depressed site grading connotes the feeling of being inside a grave; evoking ‘silence’. To orient the user to the notion of ‘deafness’, Cutler and Smith incorporated the pleas of innocence of the victims by engraving them into the weathered granite stone ground plane of the entry threshold. People entering the site pass over the statements as they enter and leave the space. The inscriptions “slide under the stone wall in mid-sentence” conveying the unheard voices of the victims at the time (figure 02.33). Six black locust trees were planted to represent ‘persecution’. It is believed that these are the same species of tree used to hang the victims. They are arranged along the perimeter of the turf area on the interior of the space. They provide shade to people as they walk along the path reading the inscriptions of the twenty stone benches jutting out from the

stacked stone wall. The inscriptions represent the final evocation of injustice; ‘memory’. The names, date, and forms of death of those killed were engraved on each of the twenty stone slabs (Wines, 1997).

Foote Typology

The Salem Witch Trials appear to be an event that has gone through changes in the typology. Foote himself, writes about this event as one of passive shame. An event that would be treated as obliteration as it took three hundred years to have the names of the victims formally marked. He writes about the discussions the town went through in deciding how to mark, if to mark at all, the tercentenary of the trials. He quotes a local editorial, “If it approaches its task responsibly, the Tercentenary Committee has an opportunity to promote a true understanding of what actually happened in 1692 and why. Perhaps in the process wounds will finally heal” (Foote, 2003, 190). Foote writes of this in 1997, only six years after the memorial was complete. Since completion, there is an annual vigil held on the anniversary to commemorate the victims. There is space enough for nearly 700 people to pay their respects within the memorial walls (figures 02.31-02.32). This event seems to have changed from one of obliteration (through shame and the choice to ignore the past event) to one of sanctification (Foote, 2003, 188-191).

Conclusion

Cutler and Smith were able to convey a profound sadness, subtly and beautifully through metaphor. The representation of ‘injustice’ has an elegant layering. Especially impactful are the engravings of innocence pleas and the juxtaposition of



Figure 02.32 Salem Witch Trials Tercentary Memorial
(Adapted by Author)

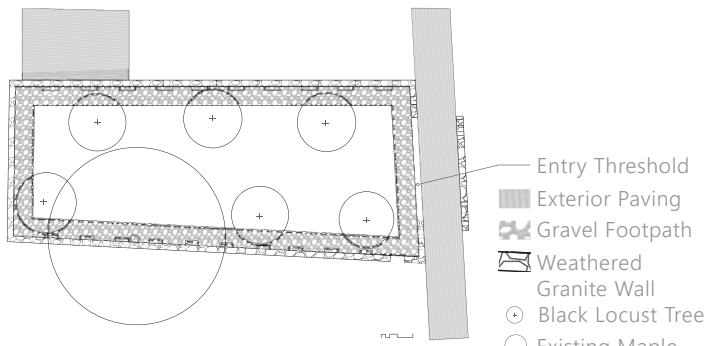


Figure 02.31 Site Design (Adapted by Author)

Memorial Subject Matter Related to Wounded Knee	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author Has Visited	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commemorative of Violence, Tragedy, or Combination	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Project or Monument Geared towards Reconciliation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abstracted Form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

the cemetery afforded by the site grading. The author imagines that the black locust tree metaphor might not be understood right away, but perhaps discovery of the meaning later would have even more emotional impact. Having something living and vibrant is a unique narrative for expressing tragic death. The simple beauty in the limited materiality speaks to the atrocity for what it was and having the names of the victims etched gives permanence. The openness of the site allows for ritualized commemoration, and gatherings. The abstracted forms as metaphor allow the space to be beautiful enough that people might linger and reflect.



Figure 02.33 Deafness (Adapted by Author)

Summary

Drawing on landscape narratives, narrative inquiry, and conflict resolution literature, a common thread emerges. A designer could combine narratives to construct meaning (landscape narratives) by creating stories to understand the narratives (narrative inquiry). The act of storytelling brings relief, can generate a form of empathy, and in turn, improve group dynamics (conflict resolution).

It seems, when there is a landscape marked and preserved, either as designation or as sanctification, there are often outdoor statuary or monuments honoring victims and noting locations of mass graves, if present. Coupled with the landscape markers are either a museum adjacent to the site or within the local environs.

My belief that a site of sanctification is a better course of action was an early assumption and one that is quite possibly incorrect. It appears that even if the truths shared of a tragic event are balanced carefully, the outcome can simply be that there is too much memory associated. The empathetic reaction to sites such as these, in fact, seem to overwhelm a person. Precedent studies reflect how communities, victims, and victims' ancestors have coped with their tragic stories. It is interesting, and worth noting, that in some of the more grisly landscape events, the people of the community and region look for alternative ways to commemorate beyond that of grave marking and monument building.

Insights and concepts gleaned from the literature review and precedent studies were developed and applied during the personal interactions with individuals on the reservation, and during the design inquiry phase of this project. These topics are addressed in subsequent chapters.



Figure 03.01 Site Visit II: Snow Delays (by Author)

03

Methodology

Introduction

Ethnographically-Inspired Research

Inventory + Mapping

Methods to Outcomes

Introduction

This study primarily used ethnographically-inspired research methods to understand and interpret the existing narratives of the site and the context set forth within the scope of the project. Ethnography is a qualitative research approach that is based on extensive observation and considerable interviewing over long periods of time in the field. Because of the limited time available in one academic year an ethnographically-inspired approach was taken. Interpretive strategies for data collection and synthesis were appropriate for this study as “people and their social relationships” are a significant aspect of the methodology and focus of this project. (Deming, M. Elen and Swaffield, 2011, 152). This interpretive approach to research is argued to create empathy, as a researcher becomes a part of the world in which the knowledge is being gained and the story told (Deming and Swaffield, 2011, 152).

The interviews conducted were interpreted and understood as human and social phenomena; as qualitative data that has a variety of methods for interpretation. These phenomena were then analyzed, interpreted, and later incorporated in discovering what type of a commemoration would serve the communities associated with Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, in a reconciliatory capacity. Ethnographically-inspired research is especially relevant for this study as it (ethnography) has the ability to define problems when problems are not clear and can explore the factors associated with a problem (LeCompte, 1999, 29). This type of research also enables a researcher to describe unanticipated or unexpected outcomes. The need for the study to have an open form was crucial to understanding and informing the design of the commemorative landscape. The approach to understanding the site through narrative required the author to hear and respect a variety of stories. To gather and interpret the stories, a process of narrative inquiry, as an inspired (or

adapted) from the Art-Based Approach Narrative Inquiry, was employed. Precedent studies and a literature review were conducted to establish the context for selecting and refining the methods for this study. Methods selected include site visits, interviews, mapping, and design inquiry as detailed in this chapter.

Ethnographically-Inspired Research Site Visits

Site visits to Wounded Knee were seen as crucial to connect socially and conduct site inventory and analysis. The latter, more so to photograph as a means to situate proposed interview narratives and acquaint the reader of this report more intimately with the landscape and context of Wounded Knee. The primary purpose of traveling to the Pine Ridge Reservation was to connect or reconnect with individuals on the reservation and personally reacquaint with the regional locale. As it is often difficult to contact people on the Pine Ridge Reservation, as experienced from the author's work on the reservation prior to this study, the researcher was not certain that interviews could take place without contacting, in person, those on the reservation that were potential interviewees. As with many First Nations, the Lakota culture is a relational culture. Therefore, spending quality time with individuals, in person, is important as it establishes a relationship.

Wounded Knee is in South Dakota, in an area that receives 34.4 inches of snow per year and 4"-6" in the months that were considered for the site visits (US Cities, 2016). Through personal experience of being snow-bound in Rapid City for three days in March 2013, and knowing that roads are not routinely cleared on the reservation, it was critical to consider the weather when traveling to the site. Planning of the site visits also considered the timing of IRB (Institutional Review Board for project ethics regulation) approval. There was concern that if the IRB approval would not have gone through, that waiting to take a site visit in conjunction with interviewing would have been too late into the semester to have time to finish the other methods. The author would have been waiting to conduct the site analysis long after it needed to be done to inform the latter portions of the project. Class and work schedule were also important to consider for site visiting scheduling. It was sensible to conduct the initial site visit as soon as base maps were created, after enough research

was conducted to know where the author needed to go and with whom, on the reservation, she might be engaged for interviews.

Initially, the plan was to conduct the interviews with a former colleague in order to have an additional person recording the interviews; allowing the author to more fully engage with the interviewees. But the former colleague's schedule became problematic. Had the author worked with the additional person on the reservation, they would have had to conduct interviews in late February or March. The author felt the timing of interviews was too late to allow for transcription, a thorough understanding of the interviews, and subsequent representation of the findings.

An introduction to the site visits is described on the following page. More information on the visits and appropriate photographs are included in the findings documented in the following chapter.

Site Visit I

The initial site visit was conducted to reestablish connections with Lakota on the reservation in order to conduct interviews as well as perform site inventory. This visit took place Sunday, November 22 until Wednesday, November 25, 2015.

Site Visit II

The second site visit took place immediately following IRB approval in early January, while waiting for the weekend to begin travel in order to avoid missing any extra class. The exact dates were from Saturday, January 23 to Tuesday, January 26, 2016.



Figure 03.02 Site Visit Stop in Badlands adjacent to Pine Ridge Reservation (by Author)

Ethnographically-Inspired Research Interviews

This project used interviews as an ethnographically-inspired method. The author felt this was a method to understand approaches to interviewing people with different cultural backgrounds regarding subjects that had many unknowns (personal stories and opinions). Considering the culture and the contextual unknowns, the author felt it appropriate to use a method that was as much about the approach to the study as it was about the information gleaned from the stories shared. With this type of project, the author believed that for a design to be reconciliatory the approach to design was equally important as the design itself. To do so, it meant being sensitive and cognizant of the uniqueness of the place being visited and the intimate nature of the subject matter.

“Mediating stories into being,” the title on narrative research genres in Jeong-Hee Kim’s recent book on narrative inquiry succinctly describes this type of approach to data collection, analysis and synthesis. This method of ethnography is comprised of three genres including Autobiographical Narrative Inquiry, Arts-Based Narrative Inquiry (with subsets of Literary-Based and Visual-Based), and Biographical Narrative Inquiry. This study implements methods from the Arts-Based approach of short story or fiction within the Literary-Based subset and an adapted approach of Photographic Narrative within the Visual-Based Narrative Inquiry.

Interviews were conducted with members of the Oglala Lakota Sioux Tribe on the Pine Ridge reservation. The goal of the interviews was to understand what type of event Wounded Knee was and what it continues to be for individuals. For Lakota, to understand what a person’s experience is and what they feel compelled to share as an individual intimately acquainted with Wounded Knee and living on the reservation was important because it sheds light on the com-



Figure 03.03 Road leading to Wounded Knee Trading Post (by Author)

munity's collective consciousness and in doing so begins to orient the reader to key experiences on the reservation. The personal narrative may shed light on the conflicting meaning of the site. More importantly, it is the goal of using adapted ethnographic methods to understand Wounded Knee from various groups' points of view. Understanding the event and continued experience of Wounded Knee informed the final design.

The interviews with the Oglala Lakota were coded and analyzed using James Corner's concepts of materiality, spatiality, and temporality (Corner, 2001). The coding included understanding what type of a commemorative process has taken place and identifying it as either sanctification, designation, rectification, or obliteration. Coding was done to reveal common threads that would possibly emerge, connect the narratives from one individual to another, and understand how those perspectives and views might find expression in other memorial types.

Procedure

The process of interviewing began with question identification derived from research related to conflict resolution (specific to mediation and reconciliation) and indigenous peoples' research methodologies. A site visit to the Pine Ridge Reservation took place while writing the IRB, prior to submittal. The first site visit was used to aid in the question generation phase to identify, in person, potential interviewees. Regarding Oglala Lakota research participants, the author was familiar with one person on the reservation that the author respects and who has worked with several outside groups that visit the reservation. The author believed this person would be a knowledgeable voice, a person willing to discuss life on the reservation, and also detail what Wounded Knee has meant as a more personal experience. The au-

thor contacted the individual before this project began, but additional Oglala Lakota research participants were engaged through building relationships and trust, in person, on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Due to the relational nature of the reservation, it was important to correspond with contacts prior to arrival for the actual interviews to ensure their availability. Once the questions were identified after the first site visit then the IRB was completed and submitted to Kansas State University for review and approval. The IRB detailed the inquiry and nature of the project and the full submittal package included the IRB form itself, question list, a consent form (for interviewing and audio recording), and a debriefing letter.

Interviewees were recorded to ensure accuracy and allow the researcher to engage more fully with the interviewee. Interaction and observation with the interviewees was critical in the researcher's ability to be able to reflect deeply enough on the transcripts to convey the narratives recorded accurately. Implementing this objective and subjective method, interviews were meant to be open and fluid and guided by the predetermined questions.

The site of Wounded Knee is a location that functions as an informal market for locals to sell crafts, art, and food. Through the researcher's previous experience, parking in the small parking lot at Wounded Knee often attracted local merchants. The author assumed the tourism might be slower during the time of her site visits and therefore intended to engage with the local merchants at Wounded Knee. The author hoped to interview many of these people, and given the season (winter) and the desire to build trust and support their trade, it was appropriate to purchase something. When the interviewee seemed interested, the researcher offered to buy lunch or a coffee to hold the interview. The informal

Commemoration Matrix											
	Kenneth Foote				James Corner			Purinton and Potteiger			
	Site Categories				Landscape Medium			Narrative Theory			
	Sanctification	designation	rectification	obliteration	materiality	spatiality	temporality	narrative: metaphor	narrative: metonymy	narrative: synecdoche	narrative: irony
heroic struggle											
battles											
clear, uncontested meaning											
struggle over meaning											
martyrs and heroes											
a sense of community loss											
minority cause											
places in process											
unforgettable event (unusual or freak accident)											
the accidental tragedy											
senseless violence											
mass murder											
notorious places											

Figure 03.04 Commemoration Framework (by Author)

setting seemed more comfortable. The author allotted half a day for each interview on the reservation. This allowed the author time to work on further site analysis and make contact with other individuals as potential interviewees.

Though not strictly adhered to in the field, the following were questions approved by IRB that were meant to act as a guide for interviews:

- What do you know about Wounded Knee?
- Where have you heard these stories?
- How do you feel Wounded Knee has affected your generation and future generations?
- How often do you or those close to you speak about Wounded Knee?
- What do you think is misrepresented about Wounded Knee?
- What do you know about Oglala Lakota? Where did you learn about this?

How is Wounded Knee remembered or honored on the reservation? Off the reservation?
How do you think Wounded Knee is remembered?
What are similar events or places? Why?
What do you associate with Wounded Knee?
What are lessons you feel could be learned from Wounded Knee?

Analysis

Targeted transcription took place with two of the three interviews. Targeted transcriptions alleviate the amount of time needed to transcribe interviews. Each interview lasted between 1-2 hours. The author was not able to devote enough time to fully transcribe each interview given the amount of time in the semester to complete the project. Coding of the interviews revealed themes that reflected the uniqueness of each interviewee as well as where the overlaps occur.

Initially, codes were attributes of Corner's writing on landscape mediums of materiality, spatiality and temporality along with categorization of sites and landscape narrative tropes (figure 03.04). However, coding and transcription was abbreviated and the predetermined codes were reconsidered in order to align with the concept of letting the story reveal itself by observing what themes were emergent or in stark contrast from one individual interview to another. Many approaches to coding exist, whether it be done directly during data collection or the day of collection. As previously described in the literature review regarding narrative inquiry, methods for narrative coding provide three tools for analysis: broadening, burrowing, and storying and restorying (Kim, 2016, 206). The previous question identification and subsequent note-taking in the field is guided by the analytical tools

of 'broadening', 'burrowing', and storying and restorying' in order to better understand nuance of the narratives (Kim, 2016, 207). The analytical tools allow a researcher to better contextualize the stories by description of participant's character or values, allows a researcher to connect the experience of the interviewees to their points of view. Specifically, the storying is used to indicate to the reader what type of a person was interviewed, what their role in the community is, how they are spatially related to the Wounded Knee landscape. Names were changed and specifics were removed in order to maintain anonymity in accordance with the IRB requirements. The restorying of the interviewee is utilized in the brief iterative descriptions at the beginning of the individual interview synthesis, found in the Findings chapter. The author analyzed each participant based on information known about the interviewee and observations made to implement restorying. This form of narrative inquiry is found as the small paragraph under the title of each interviewee in the Findings chapter. Like anthropology, it is important to note the positionality of the researcher in the field by considering previous familiarity and/or knowledge of the person interviewed or the subject discussed.

"We researcher-storytellers mediate stories, sustaining the spirit of flirtation that exites us to challenge our tendency or adherence to what we already know about and to question its legitimacy by dwelling on uncertainties and perplexities (interpretation of suspicion) (Kim, 2016)."

Proposal vs. Implementation

Interviews were planned to initially involve Oglala Lakota living on the reservation, workcamp participants, and individuals who were familiar with the reservation but have not spent time there and/or are not acquainted with people living on the reservation. Regarding workcamp participants, a letter was to be sent out to the potential interviewees detailing precisely what to expect during the interview. Contacting the workcamp participants was to include a facebook message asking whether they were interested and when they would be available. However, due to time limitations, and other factors documented in the Findings chapter, the scope of the interviews excluded workcamp participants.

Inventory + Mapping

As Potteiger in *Landscape Narratives* states, “Narrative is a process continuously moving between a series of interrelated actions. Likewise, narratives emerge from the interplay of natural processes and cultural processes (Potteiger, 1998, 23).” Narratives are not only an account of the existing and historical details of a place, but landscape narratives also offer opportunity for physical and cultural processes to reveal themselves through the continuous transformation of the design itself (Potteiger, 1998, 23). Mapping is important because it can unveil and reconfigure these processes to garner spatial knowledge. In the same way, mapping can also reveal opportunities or dilemmas to be formally represented or revealed in design choices (with the use of tropes). In lieu of tracing, mapping characterizes the landscape beyond just that which is existing and its corresponding physical attributes (Corner, 1999, 216). Corner writes that the “unfolding agency of mapping may allow designers and planners not only to see certain possibilities in the complexity and contradiction of what already exists but also to actualize that potential (Corner, 1999, 214).” Narratives of the landscape are not only the social forces but also understanding what has formed and what inhabits the space, which elucidates what has been and what is possible in a landscape.

Procedure

Maps, like figure 03.05, were generated using ArcGIS and Illustrator. Overall, data sets were collected from Earth Explorer, Soil Survey, Geo Community, GIS South Dakota, Open Street Map, GIS Department of South Dakota, and the U.S. Geological Survey website. Road networks, hydrology, ownership maps, tribal boundaries, and land use had no data sets available for download, free or otherwise. The author searched all known online entities and emailed South Dakota’s GIS Department regarding missing data sets. The author created new feature classes based on the available

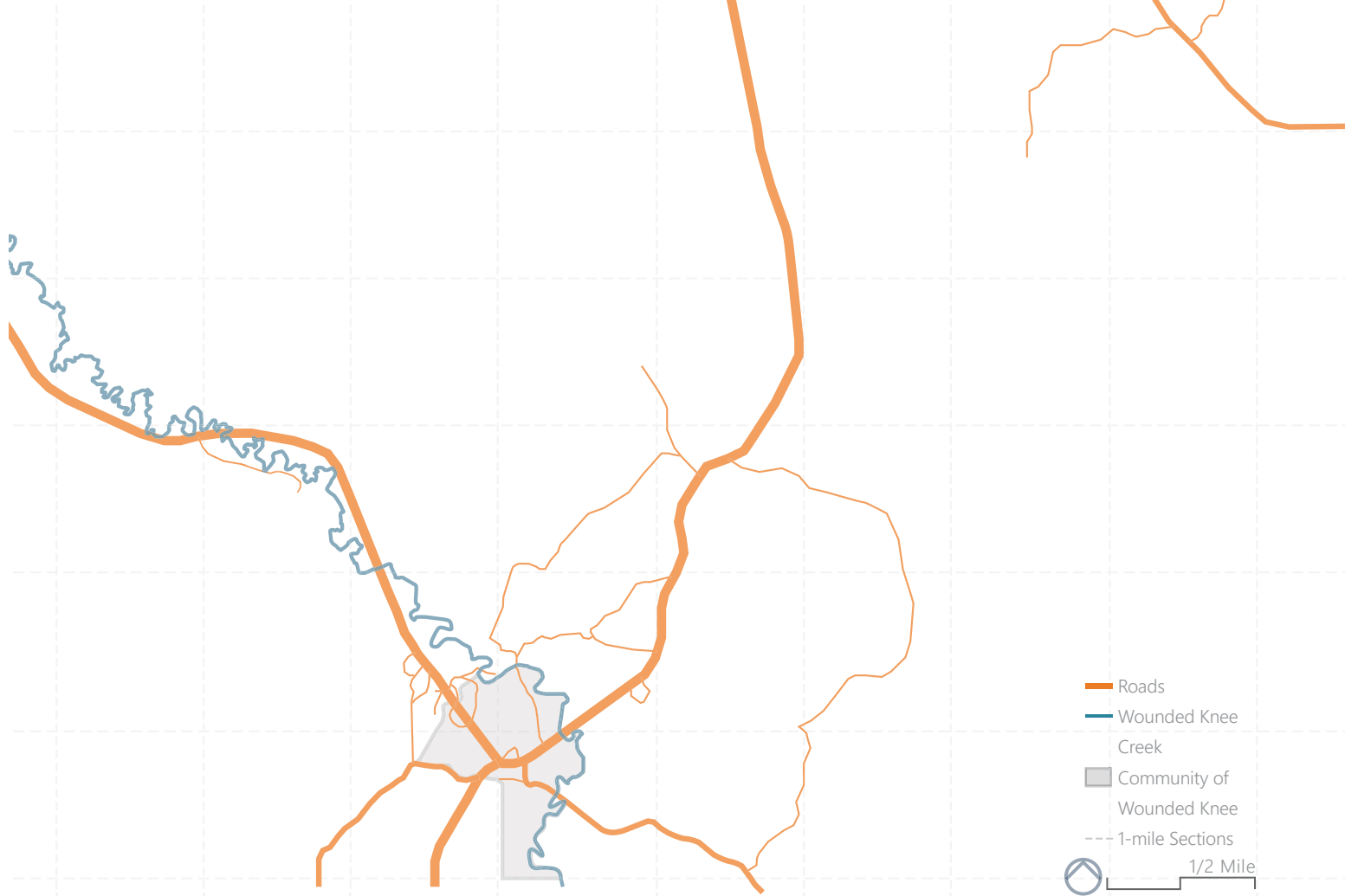


Figure 03.05 Wounded Knee Community Extents and Context (by Author)

downloadable datasets to amend symbology and correct inaccurate data projections. New feature classes are labeled to reflect amendment by author with source attribution.

Maps generated for this study reflect land use, ownership, topography (through a digital elevation model and contours), and site inventory of programmatic elements and structures of and adjacent to the Wounded Knee landscape. The mapping method also explored experiential qualities and overlaid

much of the inventory to provide a base to generate the later commemorative possibilities. This overlay method also garnered an understanding of spatial qualities that contribute to the experiential qualities of sacredness of the landscape and allows the reader of this document to appreciate the arrival sequence the road provides. Geology, vegetation and wildlife were also documented in the region to inform guidelines and design inquiry. Maps and documentation are found in the following chapter.

Methods to Outcomes

The methods were conducted in order to inform the design of a reconciliatory-minded memorial for Wounded Knee. The following chapter documents findings from the methods.

The methods were chosen because of their fluid nature. But because of the flexibility they offered this project, completely separating the methodology from the documentation of the findings misrepresents the actual ‘adaptive response’ this project required in the field. As such, the following chapter has an intentional blend of methodology to showcase the amoebic-like quality of the work. The author hopes that in being more transparent, future researchers might be able to understand the advantages and disadvantages of this type of research (given the constraints of an academic year to work and the remoteness in location studied).

...atives of Wounded Knee

QUESTIONS

What do you know about Wounded Knee?

Where have you heard these stories?

How has Wounded Knee affected you or those close to you?

How often do you or those close to you speak about Wounded Knee?

What do you think is misrepresented about Wounded Knee?

What do you know about Oglala Lakota? What do you think?

How is Wounded Knee remembered or honored in the community?

How do you think Wounded Knee should be remembered?

What are similar events or places? Why?

What do you associate with Wounded Knee?

What are lessons learned from Wounded Knee?

Figure 04.01 Proposed Interview Questions, Preparation for Site Visit II (by Author)

04 Findings

Introduction

Site Visits

Mapping + Inventory

Ethnographically-Inspired Research

Conclusions

Introduction

This portion of the report synthesizes findings from the methodology of the study, that provide foundations for the design inquiry, described in the next chapter. In this report there is a purposeful blend of methodology description and findings. Ethnography has that type of fluidity. While this project used ethnographically-inspired research methods rather than true ethnography (given the time constraints of working within the academic year), the process of implementing methods in the field shifted much in the same way. As an example, weather and conversational feedback indicated a need to amend previous plans. The researcher felt it was important to detail the methods as they had intended to be implemented in order to demonstrate to the reader the necessity to be flexible and open to plans changing in the field. The changed methods are noted within the reporting of the site visits and interviews documented in this chapter.

Site Visits

Site Visit I

To take advantage of time constraints, class schedules and Thanksgiving Break the first site visit took place from Sunday, November 22 until Wednesday, November 25 (figure 04.02). The author drove to Rapid City and stayed in a hotel before going on the reservation because there was no way of knowing if the roads on the reservation, to accommodations, would be safely passable. Due to snow and ice in Nebraska, the author was unable to get to Rapid City on Sunday and eventually stayed in a hotel in north-central Nebraska. On Monday, November 23rd, in Rapid City, she went to a local bar in the evening to speak informally with people regarding the reservation. The conversations were not structured, but the questions were intentional and asked to get answers that might shed light on how people not living on the reservation perceive the Oglala Lakota and the reservation itself.

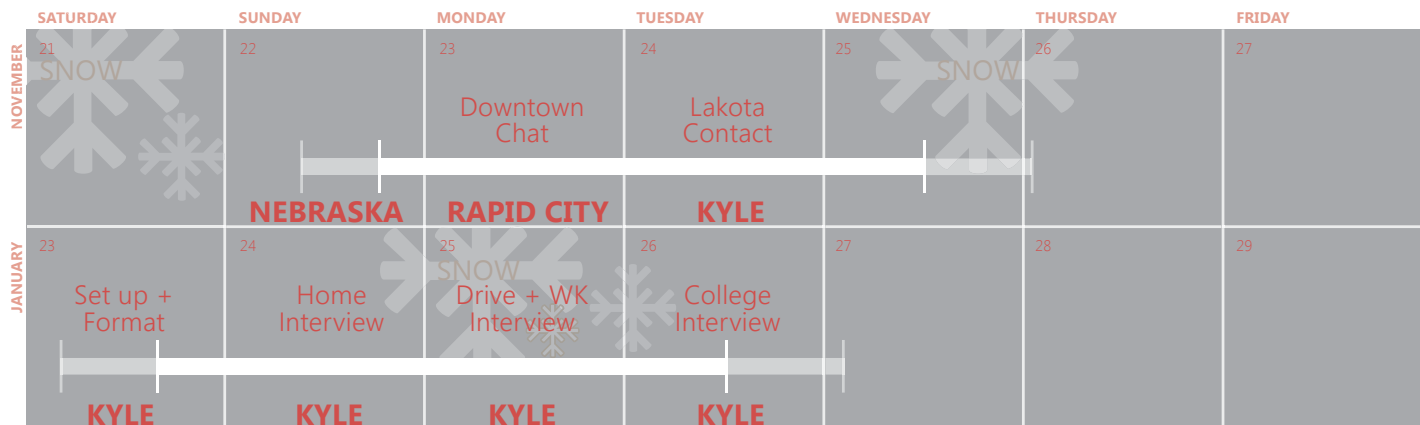


Figure 04.02 Site Visit Weather Factors Related to Timing and Dates (by Author)

Site Visits

Site Visit I

The images contained in figure 04.03 were taken with permission in the Oglala Lakota College Historical Center. This center is on the Oglala Lakota College main campus in Kyle, South Dakota and contains an exhibit featuring photography, maps, and statues. The tour is guided by recorded audio describing each of the images and its importance to the Lakota, specific to events associated with Wounded Knee. The author visited the center to reorient herself to the stories on the reservation as well as inquire about potential interviews with college employees.

The Lakota narrative in this exhibit felt palpable. Lining the walls are photographs of famous Lakota around the time of the massacre as well as graphic images of the slain Lakota right after the massacre took place and before they were buried. Everything felt very real. However, Kyle is located 30 miles away and feels disconnected from the actual massacre site. A visitor to the reservation would not know this resource exists unless expressly told. The visitor would also need to know whom to ask in order to have the exhibition space opened up as it is kept locked when not in use. Accessibility to this space poses a potential issue for people unfamiliar with the reservation. In chatting with the woman that opened up the building, the author made a potential contact. The author kept the information of the college employee to use pending IRB approval during the later site visit.

Another component of this visit was to photograph and inventory the site along with relevant aspects on the reservation. Photography was meant to capture the experiential qualities of the reservation and the Wounded Knee landscape, specifically. The following images, figures 04.04-04.08, show the approach from the north and northeast portion of the reservation to Wounded Knee. The photographs were taken along BIA Highway 27, also known as Big Foot



Figure 04.03 Images from the Oglala Lakota College Historical Center Depicting the Massacre at Wounded Knee (By Author)

Memorial Highway. The photographs depict the approach sequence beginning with the sighting of the 'Big Foot Surrenders' sign on the east side of the road (figure 04.04). This was the second mention of Big Foot along this highway. The first sighting of Wounded Knee related markings are noted in the second site visit. Images were also taken to be used as the base for the visual representation of the interviews and visual experience of landscape on the reservation and directly off the reservation.



Figure 04.04 [1] BIA Highway 27 with Big Foot Surrender Sign and Pull Off Area on Left (by Author)





Figure 04.05 [2] BIA Highway 27, Wounded Knee First Sighting (by Author)





Figure 04.06 [3] BIA Highway 27: First Wounded Knee Sign, 1 Mile Marker (by Author)





Figure 04.07 [4] BIA Highway 27: Arrival at Wounded Knee (by Author)



Figure 04.08 [5] BIA Highway 27: Historical Marker at 1,000 ft. (by Author)

Site Visits

Site Visit II

The site visit contingent on IRB approval took place from Saturday, January 23 to Tuesday, January 26, 2016. As seen in Figure 04.09, weather complicated the duration of the site visit as well as impacted accessibility once on the reservation. Forecast of what was deemed a ‘snow squall’ forced the author to prepare for several days on the reservation. While on the reservation, the author stayed at the Lakota Prairie Ranch Hotel. The author was familiar with this establishment, and knew that in the event of bad weather the establishment would be safe and there would be access to food. Author was reminded of just how influential weather is on the reservation. While visiting the town of Kyle (on the reservation) during the summer for the workcamps, the author, her director, and the young adults were sent a message that the reservation was under a tornado warning. There were no tornado sirens to alert the public. The author noted the lack of infrastructure in place for what seem like basic necessities in areas with severe storms.

As stated previously, the site visit timing was contingent on the weather. Therefore, days of the week for consideration became a secondary concern. Given the way in which the author made contact with interviewees, it was more difficult to meet people, as there were less weekdays to connect with people at their respective places of work. Regardless, the author spoke with seven different people, two of which were formally interviewed, one was interviewed but not recorded (therefore, coding was not to the same degree as the previous interviews), and other people were spoken to informally.

The first formal interview (Francis) took place on the second day of the site visit, and the following day the author met with the same interviewee and they drove through the reservation together in her car. Snow largely impacted travel as the main road was nearly impassable in the morning. The



Figure 04.09 Site Visit II: Overnight snow impacts travel on BIA Highway 27 (by Author)



Figure 04.10 Big Foot Memorial Highway Sign (by Author)

weather impeded additional interviewee access. The author and Francis planned to go to lunch and meet with a woman that runs a cafe and talks to tourists about Black Elk and Wounded Knee. The cafe was on the driving tour and on a smaller, winding road leading up on a hill. By the time we were near the cafe the main roads were clean, but tertiary roads were still covered. The vehicle used on the reservation was not four wheel drive and Francis suggested not to go off the main roads. Had the author a better-equipped vehicle

or a larger window of time to conduct the interviews, more people could have been contacted to interview.

Later that day, in the afternoon, the author conducted the second formal interview at Wounded Knee. The following day, the author packed up to drive back to Kansas. She stopped at the Oglala Lakota College to talk with a few former acquaintances and one new person. Excerpts from those conversations are part of the interview findings captured in



the Informal Conversations and the man referenced as Sam documented later in this chapter.

On this site visit the author took additional photographs of the site, depicting the winter context of the site. The author also took more inventory photographs noting additional memorials on the reservation as seen in the above photograph, figure 04.10.

Mapping + Inventory

Experiential

The experiential qualities of the site are very much related to the sparsity of population and the feelings of isolation experienced in the winter. The author had traveled to the region in the summer time, prior to the study, and while the seasons had similar effects of isolation and scarcity, the bleakness that came with winter seemed unique and seasonally specific. Because of the disparity between seasons, the author included images that relate the experiential quality of the rural, sparse landscape approaching and upon arrival at Wounded Knee.



- Major Towns
- County Boundary
- Roads
- Wounded Knee Creek
- Community of Wounded Knee
- 1-mile Sections

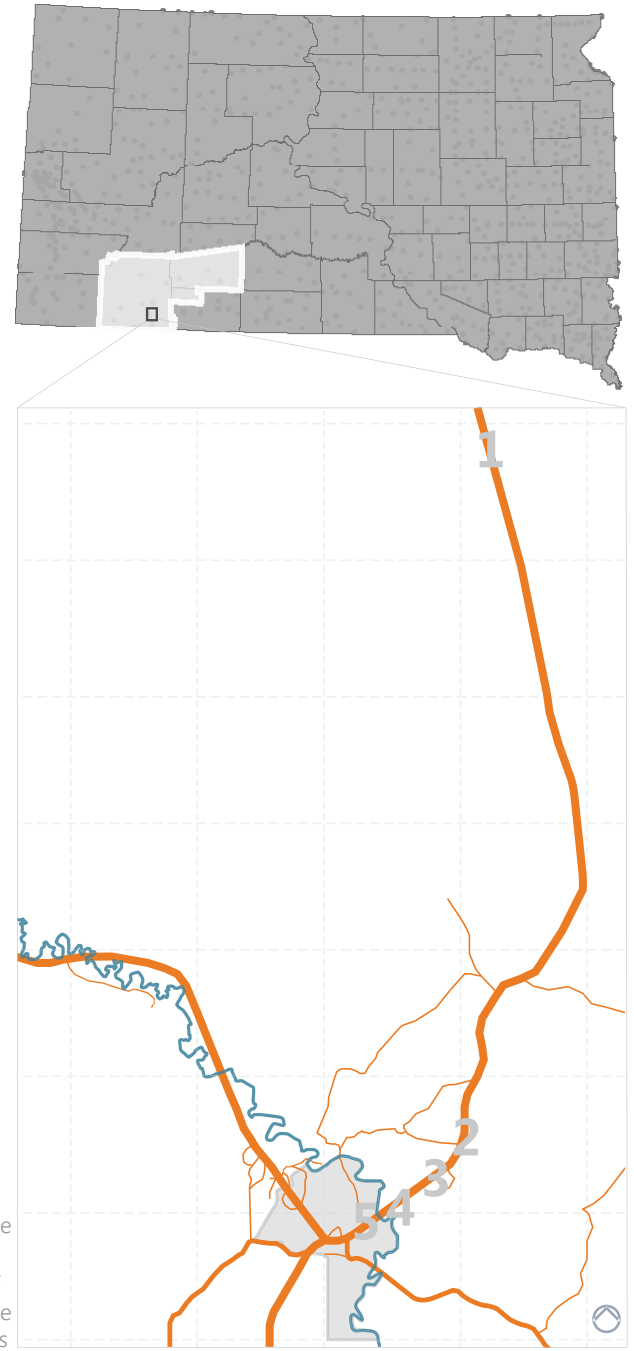


Figure 04.12 Wounded Knee Roads and Creek Adjacency (by Author)

Figure 04.11 BIA Highway 27 | Big Foot Memorial Highway (by Author)

Site Inventory

The following pages inventory the site, wildlife, plant communities, geology, and ownership of the Wounded Knee locale. Figures 04.13 and 04.14, on the page opposite, depict the current conditions and structures at the site of Wounded Knee

Landscape of Wounded Knee

The physical landscape of Wounded Knee is one of rolling grasslands and deep-sided ravines. There are small perennial streams found in the environs (National Park Service, 1992). Wounded Knee creek, for which the massacre was named, is one such stream. The area is shortgrass prairie, with trees in the lowland riparian areas and dotted along the ridge lines. There is not a significant presence of agriculture on the reservation, though there is considerable rangeland for horses and cattle (National Park Service, 1992).

Plant Communities

The following is a list of the plant communities with dominance commonly ranked from one to four (three or six in some cases) (Soil Survey, 2016). Additional information regarding the plant communities and the range of plant materials native to the Wounded Knee environs is found in Appendix B.

R060AY019SD — Closed Depression

- 3 Foxtail Barley/Inland Saltgrass
- 1 Historic Climax Plant Community
- 2 Western Wheatgrass/Inland Saltgrass

R064XY022NE — Wet Land

- 2 Baltic Rush/Cattail
- 3 Baltic Rush/Smartweed



4 Excessive Litter

1 Prairie Cordgrass/Nebraska Sedge/Reedgrass

R064XY026NE — Loamy Overflow

- 1 Big Bluestem/Western Wheatgrass
- 4 Excessive Litter
- 3 Kentucky Bluegrass, Annuals
- 2 Western Wheatgrass/Kentucky Bluegrass, Big Bluestem Remnant

R064XY027NE — Clayey Overflow

- 2 Blue Grama/Western Wheatgrass
- 4 Excessive Litter
- 3 Kentucky Bluegrass, Annuals
- 1 Western Wheatgrass/Green Needlegrass

R064XY028NE — Loamy Terrace

- 2 Blue Grama/Western Wheatgrass
- 3 Kentucky Bluegrass
- 4 Threawn/Annuals
- 1 Western Wheatgrass/Needleandthread/Big Bluestem

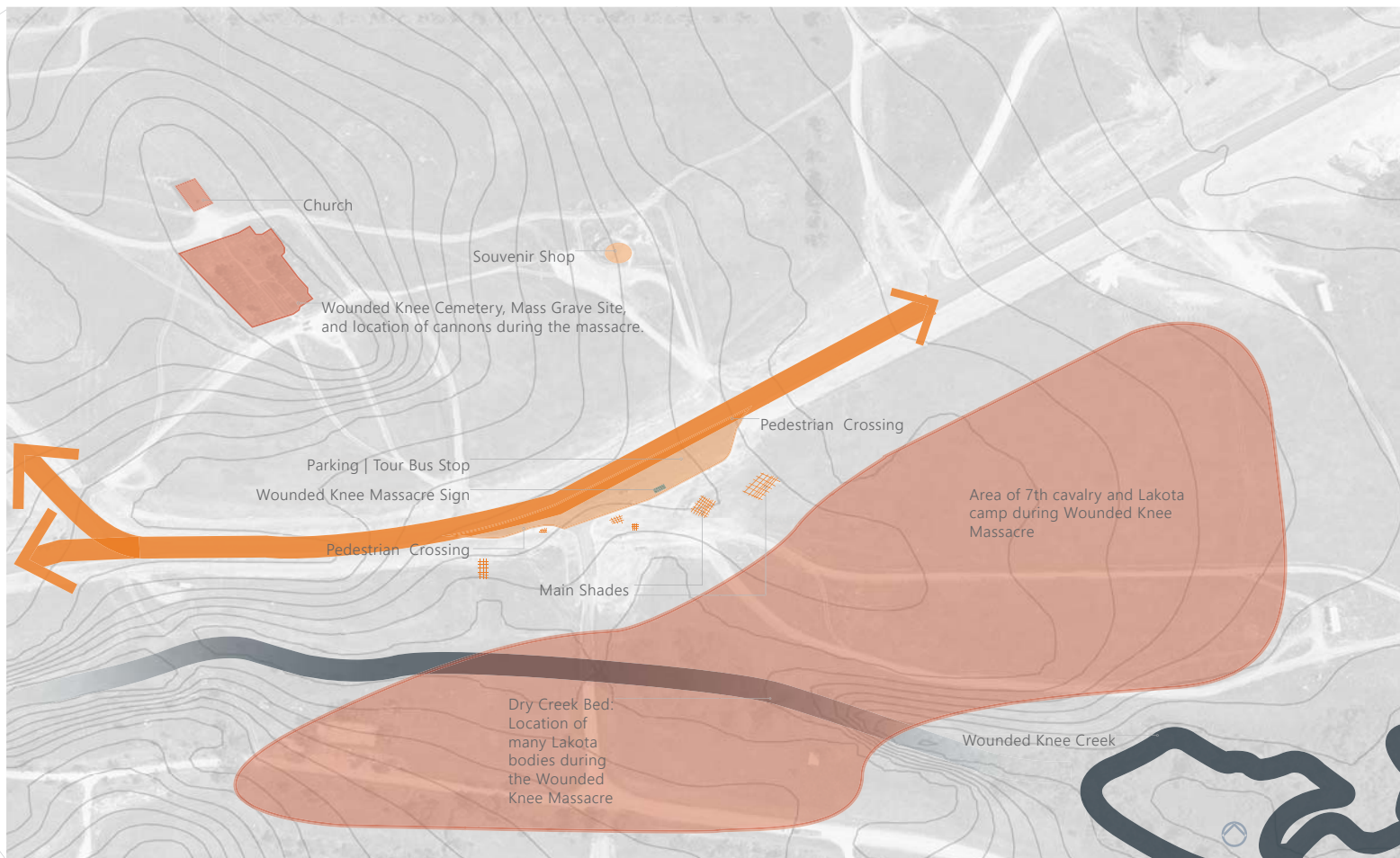


Figure 04.14 Site Inventory (by Author)

Parking | Pedestrian Crossings



Parking | Tour Bus Stop | Shades



Wounded Knee Cemetery and Mass Grave



Wounded Knee Massacre Sign



Main Shades



Figure 04.13 BIA Highway 27 | Big Foot Memorial Highway (by Author)

R064XY036NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.

4 Blue Grama/Buffalograss Sod

2 Blue Grama/Buffalograss/Western Wheatgrass

6 Juniper/Ponderosa Pine

5 Threeawn/Annuals

3 Western Wheatgrass/Bluegrass/Annuals

1 Western Wheatgrass/Needleandthread

R064XY037NE — Thin Upland

3 Blue Grama/ Sedge

2 Little Bluestem/ Grama

1 Needlegrass/Grama/Little Bluestem

RO64XY040NE - Shallow

1 Bluestem/Sidoats Grama/Needlegrass

3 Grama/Sedge, Bare Ground

4 Juniper/Pine Encroachment

2 Needleandthread/Little Bluestem/Grama

These plant communities define the shortgrass prairie in this area. The most resilient and productive plant species were western wheat, needle grass, big bluestem, side oats grama, and prairie sandreed (Soil Survey, 2) Creating plant communities that include these species, in appropriate areas, should be considered in the design.

Wounded Knee Wildlife

The ecosystem of the shortgrass prairie in this region boasts 39 mammal species, 206 bird species, 69 butterfly species, 9 reptile species and 6 amphibian species. Common mammals include elk, deer, cottontail rabbits, bobcats, prairie dog, and porcupine. Birds found commonly in the area include prairie chicken, wild turkey, meadowlarks, and vultures (National Park Service, 2016).



Wounded Knee Endangered Species

According to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, endangered species in this region include a small list of birds, mammals, and flowering plants.

Birds: Whooping crane (*Grus Americana*), Red knot (*Calidris canutus rufa*), Sprague's pipit (*Anthus spragueii*).

Mammals: Black-footed ferret (*Mustela nigripes*), Northern Long-Eared Bat (*Myotis septentrionalis*)

Flowering Plants: Western prairie fringed Orchid (*Plantanthera praeclara*) (U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, 2016)

Geology

The soil and parent material for soil are shown in figures 04.15 and 04.16. The Soil Survey was accessed to inform later design iterations. Parent material is typically alluvial (Wounded Knee Creek) and sandstone from the degraded hills.



Figure 04.15 Soil Survey (by Author)

Figure 04.16 Parent Material (by Author)



Ownership Adjacent to Wounded Knee

Land ownership on the Pine Ridge Reservation has been divided and subdivided for generations. As a result of the Dawes Act, or the General Allotment Act of 1887, “Indian families have seen valuable land resources diminish as fractionated ownership increases with each passing generation” (Indian Land Tenure Foundation, 2016). Land was divided and allotted to individuals on the reservation. When the title holder died, the ownership was divided among their heirs. This subdivision has caused single parcels of land to have hundreds and even, in some cases, thousands of owners. This is shown in figure 04.17, on the opposite page. Of note is the split ownership of the Wounded Knee site itself. Ownership of these particular parcels is highly contested and contributes to current political and economic debate amongst the tribe and the land owner, Czywczynski. This man was the owner of a general store that was overtaken and burned down during the AIM occupation of Wounded Knee in the 1970s.



Ethnographically-Inspired Research Interviews

The following section synthesizes findings from the ethnographically-inspired interviews and conversations. The interviews took place during the second site visit at varying locations throughout the reservation. Conversations happened partially on the second site visit, but also as a follow-up on the telephone when the author was back in Kansas. The method of interviewing deviated from process described in the methodology. Interviews were supposed to be structured with specific questions asked to all the respondents so that data could be coded and gathered in a predetermined way as described by the Methodology chapter. In the field, interviews changed based on the way the author began the interviews, the type of questions, and because answers were story-like. The author felt the flow of conversation was better and more important to follow rather than sticking to the structured set of questions. The interviews were initially supposed to be of equal time at around thirty minutes. Instead, the three interviews of Francis, Ed and Sam ranged in duration; from one hour to over three hours.

The most time was spent with Francis. The author went to his personal residence to speak with him during the first site visit in order to set up a time to visit for the official interviews conducted during the second visit. During the

Primary Location of Wounded Knee | 1890

Wounded Knee Creek



second visit the author returned to Francis' house to let him know she (the author) was in town. It was difficult to be in contact with this respondent as the author did not have a phone number and the respondent had been without his laptop. The author and the respondent normally correspond through Facebook.

Francis and Ed both had interviews that were audio recorded. Interviewing Sam happened so quickly and organically that the author did not have a chance to record. As soon as the interview concluded the author asked Sam permission to use his statements as an informal interview. He agreed and signed the necessary IRB forms detailing what had been discussed. The final set of written and visual depictions, informal conversations, were based on conversations with people who did not wish to be formally interviewed. The conversations were important and showed the range of opinions surrounding Wounded Knee, Lakota identity, and sentiments of outsiders inquiring about the reservation and Wounded Knee.

Initially coding of the interviews was going to be based on predetermined codes as well as themes that emerged throughout the transcription process. However, given the

amount of time the author had available to transcribe and code, the length of the individual interviews, and the range of themes all contributed to a different coding approach. The author identified the specific questions asked to each of the respondents (for the first two interviews), identified common themes through out the interviews and conversations, and identified themes appearing uniquely to an individual respondent. These codes, or themes are represented as a bulleted list after the introductory, 'restored' narrative description of the individual respondent.

The images on the page opposite the written description of the interviews and respondents represent the author's experience with the individuals interviewed. These images represent a form of participant observation. The goal is to orient the reader of this report to the author's experience during the conversations and interviews. The images reflect elements of interaction spatially, socially, thematically, or contextually. A brief explanation is included in the text for each interview/conversation.

Figure 04.18 Wounded Knee Creek Environs (by Author)

Primary Location of Wounded Knee II 1973



Francis

Francis is an older, Oglala Lakota man living in one of the small towns on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. He is originally from the reservation with ancestors involved with Wounded Knee in 1890 and was personally involved in the AIM occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. He has lived off the reservation for portions of his life and has traveled extensively through North America and Europe. He is involved with tourism on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

- Wildlife
- Aesthetic Quality of Reservation
- Varied Interpretation, Meaning + Value
- Spatial Considerations
- Social

Over the course of the three separate meetings with Francis, the author took notes and photos, completed a formal interview, and conducted an interview with him while driving through a portion of the Pine Ridge Reservation (from Kyle to Wounded Knee). During the formal interview, Francis spoke frequently about individuals he had met through his role as a tour guide and an informal historian. Many questions were covered in the interviews, and the above excerpt from the formal interview transcription shows the author and Francis discussing a possible reason Wounded Knee happened. Figure 04.19 is an image of socks Francis showed the author. This respondent had many stories regarding people that had visited him on the reservation as well as places he had traveled and lived outside of the Pine Ridge Reservation. The image of snowy bird tracks (figure 04.20) represents the weather conditions the day of the formal and



160125_002

I: See the reason there were so many people with big foot- those people came down from lower hauke they were followers of sitting bull and them. He was killed by cavalry and they were afraid that cavalry were going to kill big foot- but they wanted to be under protection of Red cloud- two- they wanted to go out and participate in the ghost dance. And the ghost dance took place just off cooney table

B: And that what was scaring people?

I: Scared the Indian agent- Royer. And he went down to Gordon Nebraska and he used a telegraph and he requested to many cavalry troops to come in. He was so scared of what was going to happen.

B: Does it feel like it was just horrible communication? Do you think something like that was going to happen regardless- was it avoidable...?

I: I think it was avoidable. It could have been avoidable.

I: To be honest with you- why it wasn't avoided- because it was a bunch of drunk cavalrymen. People don't talk about that part of it either. Did you ever hear of a pain medication called laudanum?

B: Yeah, yeah.

I: Okay, it makes you feel like you're drunk.

B: Wow

I: It does, it just makes ya. You drink it and it's just like you're getting drunk. We'll a lot of te cavalry men would get that stuff and drink it. All the time. A lot of them guys were drunk. At that time

B: Jeez

I: And if they weren't, I think that whole thing could have been avoided at wounded knee.

I: You don't hear too many people talking about that but I had- what the heck is his name- he's the curator of the Fort Robinson museum. He' retired now but he was curator for about 20 years, 25 years. He retired, he's the one telling me that. And he was the one in charge of all the stuff. The history. He was in charge of the

driving interview; snowy and impressionable.

Social

The social theme taken from interviewing Francis was based on the way in which he told stories and explored the inquiry instead of directly answering questions. This theme was also determined because he spoke so frequently about other people when discussing the broad subject of Wounded Knee. Instead of speaking broadly about governmental influence and broad accusations or meaning associated with Wounded Knee, the majority of the interview transcripts reflect a more intimate portrayal of his family's experience of Wounded Knee. He talked about his personal experience, and his stories and impressions of people he has met over the years. He seemed very proud to know many people and receive gifts from them. He would often tell a story and



Figure 04.19 Snowy Day (by Author)

quickly retrieve a token representing the person the story was about or something from them. The author also mentioned Francis to other interviewees as a way to let them know she was familiar with people on the reservation. Most knew who he was. When the author asked if there was anyone else she might speak with regarding Wounded Knee he would reflect and offer a name, but then correct himself and say they would most likely just direct the questions to him. It seemed that Francis is certainly regarded as historian. This theme



Figure 04.20 Dog Fur Socks (by Author)

also touched on the theme regarding interpretation, meaning and value.

Varied Interpretation, Meaning + Value

This code emerged as Francis described other people's perceptions of what Wounded Knee meant to Lakota as well as his own family's involvement in the massacre. He said the strangest thing he had ever heard was from a woman from Florida. She didn't think the massacre had actually happened; that it was too terrible of a thing to have happened.

Francis and his ancestors had intimate knowledge regarding both the Wounded Knee Massacre and the AIM Occupation of Wounded Knee. His great-great grandfather had been in the 7th cavalry at Wounded Knee and he was a police officer on the reservation during the occupation. He described shooting at the AIM occupiers. Francis said both sides would aim just above one another's heads to make sure they didn't hit anyone. Then, at the end of the day he, his cousins, and others would go have dinner together at someone's house and discuss the day. These were people on both sides of the occupation. This particular narrative describes the variant observation of one, singular event and encapsulates the difficulty with ascribing shared meaning. The manner in which he spoke about this was perhaps the most interesting part. He would genuinely chuckle to himself about the scenario. The author knew he liked this story, because she had heard it several times through previous conversations with him. The author was very struck by his manner of speaking initially but as she became more familiar with him she realized it seemed to be a conscious choice he made. He had a profound ability to find the humor and irony in situations.

Aesthetic Quality of the Reservation, Wildlife + Spatial Considerations

Spatial considerations, aesthetic quality of the reservation, and wildlife were themes that emerged as conversation seemingly left the topic of Wounded Knee. Initially, the author felt these subjects to be tangents, but realized that the return to such loving description of life and observation on the reservation couldn't really be separated from the sadness and tragedy of Wounded Knee. These themes speak of the resilient nature of the people on the reservation. For Francis, instead of dwelling on the tragedy of Wounded Knee, he uses the event as a way to relate himself to others. He spoke a lot about the wildlife of the reservation. The conversation was liberally peppered with mentions of prairie chicken and wild turkey sightings. He spoke about his own use of specific animals for meat. One quote describes the social implications of certain animals. They equally sustain and create a draw to the reservation during the summer from all over the world. These wildlife narratives ranged in type of ecosystem service. While describing these scenes and others he would often spatially indicate (spatial consideration theme) where things were happening in the reservation. In general, he was a very gestural speaker. While driving he would indicate places, and while interviewing in his home he would often point out photos or grab books that further articulated his point.

The following page (figure 04.21) visually depicts the narrative themes drawn from Francis's interviews.

Interview | Francis

"And people in the all-Indian Association rodeo-he'll have ropers and bronc riders come from Florida and Washington State and Canada."
The horses symbolize the literal mention of broncos as well as the figurative movement of people on and off the reservation



Figure 04.21 Francis Visual Interview (by Author)

"Everything in my refrigerator is wild game. And that's what I live on- deer meat, or antelope, elk." *Wildlife and the natural world plays an important role*



Ed

Ed is a resident of Wounded Knee, living within a mile of the Wounded Knee massacre site. He sells crafts to tourists visiting Wounded Knee. His wares include necklaces, dream catchers, and other goods made with leather, beads and local herbs.

- Spatial Considerations
- Varied Interpretation, Meaning + Value
- Social
- Economic tone
- Connection and Service to People

The author began informally speaking with Ed as soon as she arrived at the site when Ed approached to sell her crafts. She reminded him that she had been on the reservation previously. He remembered that she gave him with a bag of oranges when she spoke with him during the first site visit. The author told Ed she was interested in buying some of his crafts and was also wondering if he was willing to be interviewed. He agreed. Ed was interviewed in the author's car as it was cold and windy outside. The interview took place at the parking lot of the Wounded Knee massacre site (figure 04.22). A follow-up meeting took place with Ed the following day in order to get an additional signature on his consent form.

Ed and the author initially commented on the “white people” questions that were brought to discuss. This was a comment also shared by Francis. This definitely established a feeling of “us and them” in the interview, but Ed was always open to answering the questions and sincere in the response. The (“white person”) questions were discussed in a slightly joking manner.



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our pow wow regalia the dancing regalia, we performed different kind of dances- native dances back there.

B: Okay

I: And uh, awe announced , but surprisingly, there were people, some of the tourists back then, that was back in the 70s, some of those folks came from different states- they've never seen a native in their whole life. Never saw a native person. So, the questions, I heard a lot of different kinds.

Not transcribed- 23:37.

That's, uh, Joe- talking about meeting someone from Cali-

He's listening and laughing listening to my story.

Said it wasn't offensive, but uniformed.

B: But when you started talking more about Wounded Knee, and you'd mentioned, so, just to straight read them right them... (I'm referencing the questions I brought) I was sort of just curious about individuals people's stories about Wounded Knee and where they know them from- and it seems you know them from generation to generation passed down, or... how... what is it that you personally, when you think of wounded knee- what is it that- and I hope it's not insensitive, I don't know how to ask the question...

(He's really nice and listening and giving verbal and non-verbal cues that my question is okay- it helped that we were chuckling about the combine picking wheat and the question previous to this particular question)

I: No, uh, I knew about Wounded Knee like as a youngster that the massacre happened here but I never knew any of the details about the whole thing. Not until I came here and I was asked to be the president of this community. When that happened a man came to our group and asked if we could help him to build a museum here, somewhere around here, right at Wounded Knee.

B: What time, when was that?

Spatial Considerations

“Spatial considerations” as a theme emerged from the way that Ed discussed the events of Wounded Knee as well as when he spoke about the Lakota traditional ways. On these subjects he became very gestural with his hands. He was animated when he spoke of Wounded Knee impacting the Lakota and essentially ending their way of life.

Social + Economic Tone

The author expected to hear these things in the interview but was surprised by the way in which Ed spoke about fractionated land and trying to establish who was Lakota for economic purposes (of the tribe). When the conversation shifted to these combined subjects of social considerations and economic challenges on the reservation the author



Figure 04.22 Wounded Knee Massacre Sign (by Author)

began to realize the reservation experienced civil rights issues that continue to plague the tribe. The economic tone to a large majority of what Ed was saying had to do with acquiring tribal lands, fractionated land, and the extreme poverty on the reservation. This social and economic tone was also a portion of the theme 'connection and service to people'.

Social + Connection and Service to People

He gave examples of ways he had personally tried to combat extreme poverty and other attributes poverty brings (he

mentioned alcohol abuse, drug use, and incest). He suggested that there might be a place at Wounded Knee to have some sort of community outreach hub for those that need assistance on the reservation. However, he did caution that a space that might generate money should be cautioned as things aren't always distributed in the way they were initially intended.

When I spoke with him the following day he wanted to be sure that there weren't plans for a memorial to be built at

Wounded Knee. I assured him there were no plans as I was only a student working on a project. He was relieved to hear there wasn't anything planned and went on to say that if a plan and designs were ever to be considered that someone would need to go door to door and ask members of the community what they thought. He was very adamant about everyone needing to be heard in the community. That morning was also the second time he mentioned the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. He spoke about taking a rubbing from this memorial. Francis mentioned this memorial as well, and he (Francis) also talked about another grave marker that he was able to take a rubbing from. Both men seemed very moved by the concept of the materials and memorials that are interactive or action-oriented.

In figure 04.23, the quote of “tiospaye” is used as it means family in Lakota. Ed referenced this term several times. This connotes the theme of ‘social’ and ‘connection and service to people’ and is exemplified through the idea of a home structure to support and contain a family. An image of the engraved grave marker as well as additional trees/foliage at wounded knee depicts the desire to have something action-oriented representing material interaction. The color and form of the necklace depicts traditional Lakota ways. The number four, and the specific four colors (black, white, red, and yellow) are significant to the Lakota. The first quote associated with the necklace took place when Ed was talking about people who worshiped differently. He was very open about acceptance of others.

Varied Interpretation, Meaning + Value

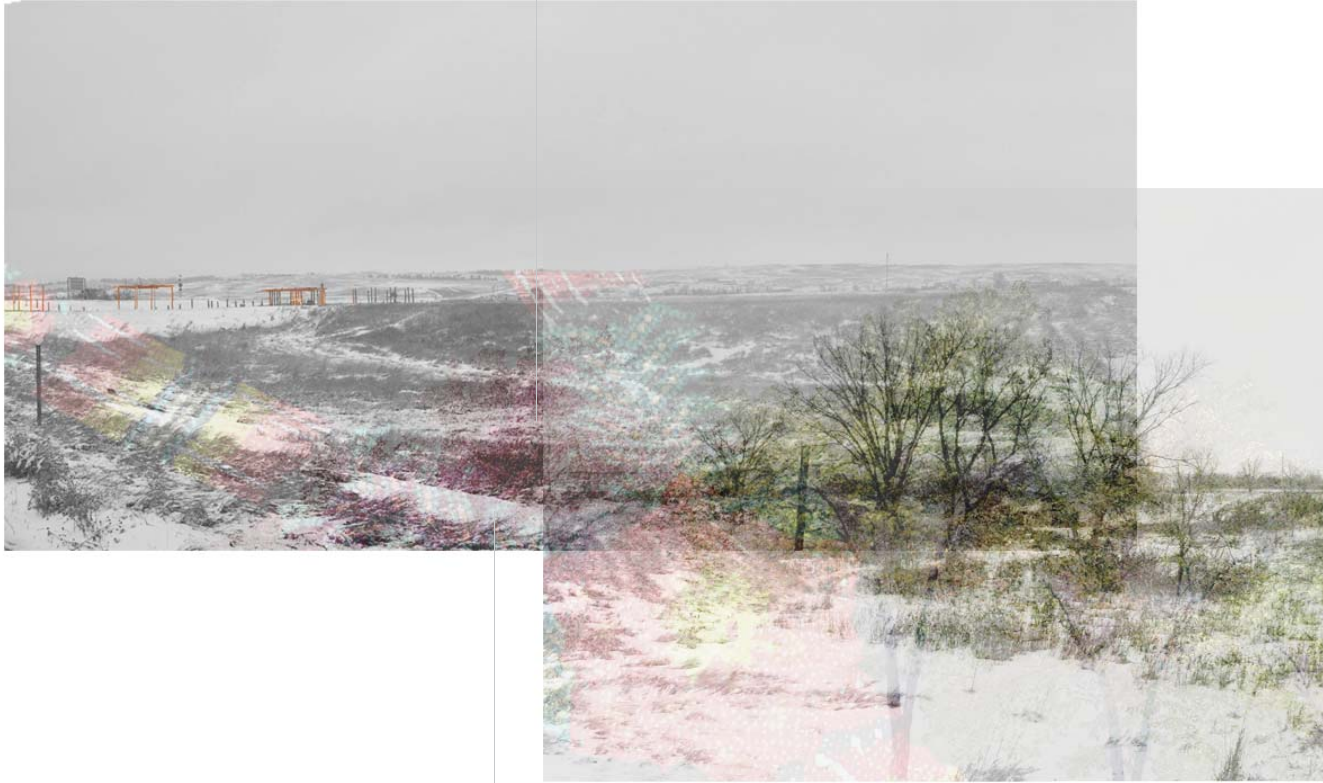
When asked how Ed learned about Wounded Knee he explained that he hadn't known much when he was younger but as he got older, became part of the Wounded Knee community, he learned more. This is interesting because he

mentioned being a part of the AIM occupation. He placed a lot of emphasis on the fact that he had braids and was a full-blood, joining into the occupation because he belonged to one specific group. The author had the impression that it was a lot of strong emotion which led him to join the occupation, but that he was not necessarily well-informed as to the cause of the occupiers. She had asked him how he knew about Wounded Knee and he responded with the story about joining the occupiers. He went on to tell her that he actually learned about Wounded Knee in the subsequent years. He told her stories about speaking to other individuals on the reservation that had relatives at Wounded Knee. He also spoke with people at universities that have done research. He concluded his answer by intimating that he is still learning about Wounded Knee.

A portion of the transcript is quoted in figure 04.23 to contrast the narratives of Ed and Francis. This aspect of the native narrative is also represented by a traditional necklace photomontaged in the left corner. This area in the photo is important because it is the location where many local merchants sell their crafts. The existing shades (shade structures) are seen highlighted in the background.

Interview | Ed

"We worship the traditional ways... we have no clocks, calendars, nothing. That's the old time way. there was no such thing. We have four seasons." *Traditional necklace / traditional values*



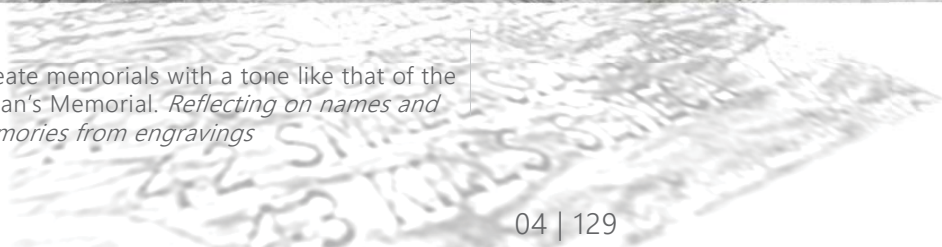
"We were fighting against a group that were- from Dick Wilson's group he was the tribal president and he had people, that were like him- the mixed blood type, so we were against them and he was against us. So I always had long hair, dark skin, so we were, we were.. naturally I was with the group... the native side so that was how I came about that part of American Indian movement, but later on in years I found out here and there their reasons why they came here." *Traditional necklace / traditional belonging, identity and craft*

Figure 04.23 Ed Visual Interview (by Author)

"Tiospaye." Family means providing protection and support



A desire to create memorials with a tone like that of the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial. *Reflecting on names and collecting memories from engravings*



Sam

Sam is a man, from the Pine Ridge Reservation, living within 10 miles from Wounded Knee. He works in education and speaks Lakota.

- Personal Responsibility of Forgiveness
- Connection and Service to People

The author interviewed Sam after he had been recommended to her as a person possibly interested in talking about Wounded Knee. Roberta recommended him but did not wish to be interviewed as she felt she didn't have enough to say. Portions of her thoughts are used in the 'Informal Conversations' spread following this interview. While she recommended Sam, she also remained in the room while the author interviewed him. As soon as Roberta retrieved Sam (from his office) he began talking and the author didn't have enough time to start recording. He consented to the interview, but because the author did not record, there are no transcripts to pull codes from. Instead, the author recorded herself describing the interview while in the car, just after speaking with Sam.

Personal Responsibility of Forgiveness

The most essential code from Sam's interview was his disposition towards personal responsibility of forgiveness and acceptance of Wounded Knee. He talked much more philosophically about the implications of Wounded Knee. He also spoke more personally about his way of trying to make amends to those that were massacred. He felt the way some groups and individuals victimized themselves brought upon a cycle that had no space for healing. He likened the process to a personal injury he had while cooking. After

burning himself he developed a scab and instead of letting the wound heal itself he insisted on picking at the scab. He used the term *fester*. He believed that to allow the injury to heal you had to accept what happened and allow it to recover unfettered. The discussion regarding the scab transitioned into more specific thoughts on forgiveness.

Sam spoke about two types of forgiveness. He talked about how it was important to seek forgiveness from the spirit (or the like) and from others. He said that being right with the spirit, or god, or whatever it is only goes up and down and is a vertical thing that doesn't necessarily affect others. He specifically said that a person needs to forgive others to be able to move on. This type of forgiveness, he stated, is horizontal. It reaches out and connects a person in a larger sense. He demonstrated a horizontal line back and forth (away from the author). He believed that in practicing vertical and horizontal forgiveness, a person would be able to move beyond victim-hood. In practicing this way, he believed people could take ownership of a wound or injustice and learn to heal. Learning to heal in this manner was important to him and went on to talk about cycles of oppression. He realized that one must forgive and move on, because if you take the line of history back far enough most people have been oppressed.

Connection and Service to People

The code of 'connection and service to people' came about as Sam described his way of story-telling, his personal journey of returning the spirits of Wounded Knee, and his opinions on the state of the reservation. Relative to this code, he stated he doesn't do things for other people. Rather, he shares his story about what he has done and then people



Figure 04.24 Through Conversation with Sam, Author was Reminded of Ed Young Man Afraid of His Horses' Land
(Adapted by Author)

take what they will from it. He metaphorically described this as a dinner table. He said, when you invite people over, you have this big table and you fill it with food. He went on to say there are going to be some people that aren't hungry and won't take any food while others maybe only take a little bit. Then there are those that will be continuously grazing and others are so hungry they'll eat as much as they can. His final example was of people that are so hungry they take and take

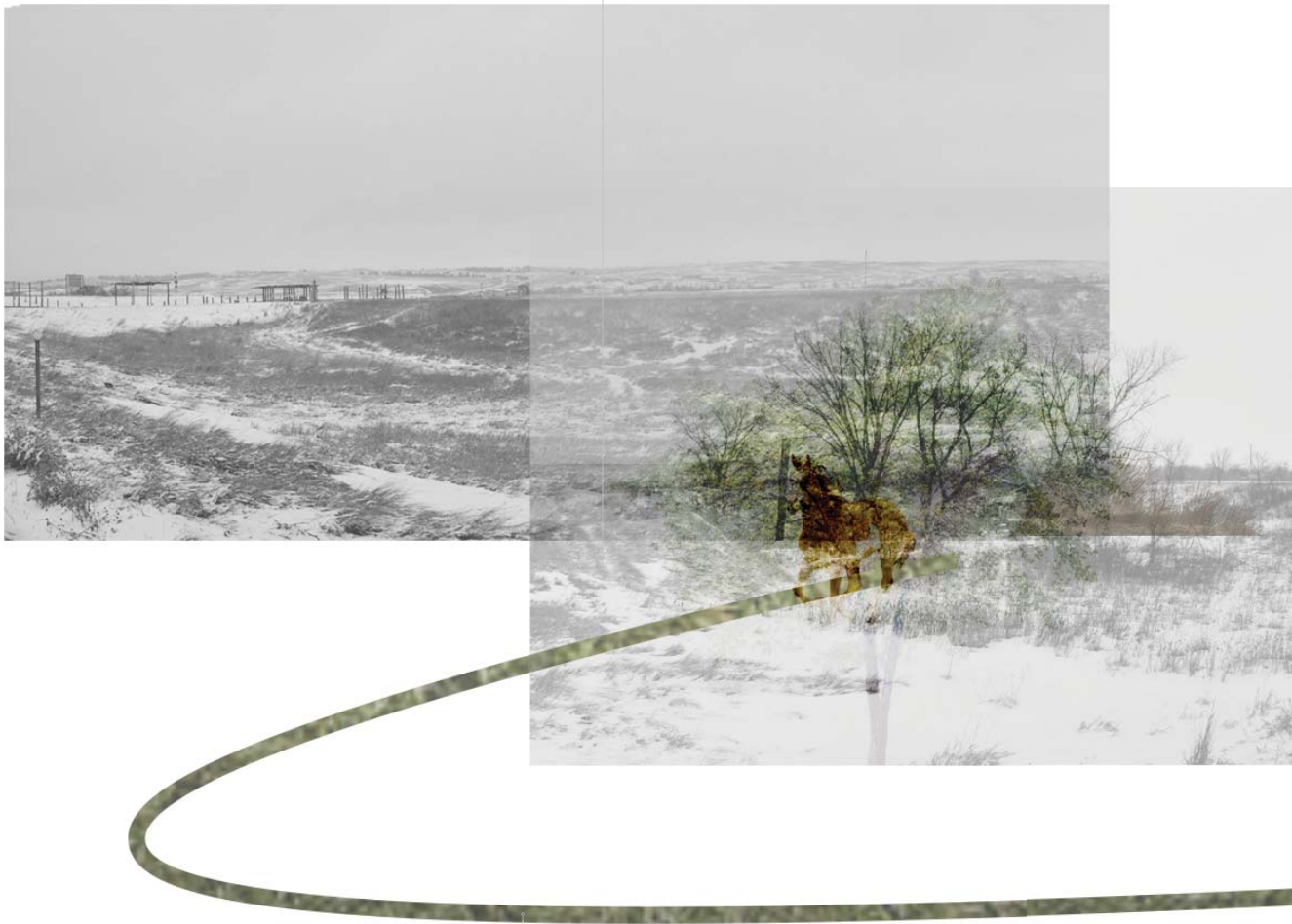
and they will even take some home with them. Sam said he tries to please people but different people are going to like different things and one can't expect them to take it and receive it, but you can at least make it and offer it. He transitioned this story back to the concept of forgiveness. Sam said there is no expectation when you are right with yourself and you approach somebody and ask forgiveness, because you've conquered that and beyond that it's up to them to

accept it. He likened this to upward forgiveness and then outward forgiveness. Sam transitioned into a story about returning the spirits of those that died at Wounded Knee back to where they had come from. He criticized the memorial ride; likening it to picking at a scab. He chose to take a personal journey, by himself with his horse. When Sam detailed his journey, the author was reminded of the image of solitary horses in the open Pine Ridge Reservation landscape taken during a previous visit to the reservation (figure 04.24). Sam felt this personal act of returning the spirits was his way of healing the wound and working through forgiveness.

The last portion of the code is specifically about Sam's memorial recommendations focusing on social dilemmas and opportunities of the reservation. He said the reservation had issues with politics and money and that things on the reservation were easily corruptible. Something with more social implications, rather than economic incentives would be a better model for a memorial. And the memorial should be about moving on and looking forward instead of just looking at the history. We talked abstractly about the concept of a living memorial and how it could serve the community. The most profound portion of the conversations with Sam seemed to be his description of the journey he took to return the spirits. He told the author he had never really spoken with anyone about that until the interview. The rendering on the following page (figure 04.25) reflects the solemnity and act of return for this respondent's personal act of commemoration.

Interview | Sam

On horseback, he ceremoniously returned the spirits of those that died to their own land. *Animals were a part of his journey.*



For him, it was a solitary act to seek and receive forgiveness. *This singular, rounded line reflects individuality and directness.*

Figure 04.25 Sam Visual Interview (by Author)



He believes in taking ownership of what happened and moving on. *This area and the adjacent trees are highlighted to show that the space where tragedy took place should be observed and acted upon.*



Informal Conversations

The following representations illustrate the author's three conversations related to Wounded Knee while on the second site visit as well as a follow-up phone call to a potential interviewee based on a recommendation from an acquaintance on the reservation.

- Culture Remains
- Us and Them
- Connection and Service to People

Three people are represented in the following description of codes as well as visually (in terms of conversation content) in figures 04.26 and 04.27. The names used for the report are Roberta, William, and Shannon. Roberta felt she did not have enough to say about Wounded Knee to be formally interviewed. Shannon did not wish to be interviewed and felt what the author was asking about could be found in books written about the massacre. William was the only non-Lakota the author spoke with in casual conversation while on the site visits. He was from South Dakota. William and the author spoke informally in a bar in Rapid City.

Roberta was a contact the author knew from previously working on the reservation. The author stopped by her office to speak with her regarding any people she thought might be interested in talking about Wounded Knee. She said that she didn't often think about Wounded Knee but when she did it made her sad. She was quite to the point. We spoke more about our family, but she eventually introduced me to Sam. In total, I spoke with her (but eventually it was mostly with Sam) for about two hours. While the author was

speaking with Roberta another woman stopped by to sell some jewelry. The author noted that people had tried to sell personally-made crafts to one another on multiple occasions while she was on the reservation. Roberta recommended speaking to several other people after the conversation with Sam ended. The author had to return to Kansas, so she was unable to meet with the suggested people in person. Instead, she planned to call or email the contacts.

Culture Remains

The first person the author called was Shannon. The author called while Shannon was busy, on a Friday after work. Shannon told the author she was not interested in talking about Wounded Knee. She said it was a subject she gets questioned about all the time and that there is plenty of documentation on it. She went on to say that the massacre did not actually happen to the people of the reservation (Pine Ridge), but that it just happened in their back yard. Shannon said that the massacre actually involved people from Standing Rock Reservation (reference the Background chapter or Appendix C for more information). There are stories, she said, that have been documented from those people and its not something that they (Oglala Lakota) are interested in dredging up all the time because it is history. It's in the past, she stated. She went on to say they have their people intact, their culture intact and they are moving ahead. They don't need to continue thinking about the past. She also said that she was reminded of the massacre everyday because she had to drive past it everyday.

Over the course of the conversation, Shannon pointed out that there is little research done by indigenous people on the subject. Shannon offered to refer the author to other peo-



Figure 04.26 Agricultural Land Adjacent to the Pine Ridge Reservation: Informal Conversations Took Place On and Off the Reservation
(By Author)

ple that might want to talk about Wounded Knee, but the author declined as she felt she may have overstepped cultural boundaries in the way she approached Shannon. The author thanked Shannon for her time and ended the ten minute phone call.

Us and Them

William conveyed more anecdotal stories about his experience with the Pine Ridge Reservation when the author

asked him about Wounded Knee. He told her that people thought Native American's were lazy and never working. Thus, people were hesitant to hire Native Americans. A lot of his comments were perceptions people had about the reservation that came through as grouping people and separating them to see the differences, whether they exist or not. Conversation with him felt less informed and of a distinctly different flavor. Figure 04.26 attempts to capture the author's mindset of 'us and them'. The figure is an image of the

agricultural land adjacent to the reservation. It was photographed in the place where the author realized she had driven off of the reservation. The image was taken several miles off of the reservation and inclusion of it is meant to show the gradual change of land use in the area. The landscape transitioned from open pasture and scattered dwellings to agricultural fields. Elevation gains and losses are similar between the landforms in this image and the landforms in the background of figure 04.27. The changes in the landscape happened so gradually, the author did not take notice right away. There were no signs marking her departure from the reservation. On this edge, landscape acted as a soft boundary between reservation and non-reservation. The gradual change is meant to be an analogy for how the author felt during the conversations. As the conversations lengthened, especially with Shannon, the author realized the things that seemed subtly different between them (such as objectives and tone) became magnified. The author could no help but consider the difference in background, culture and identity that distinguished the two of them. In this way, as subtle differences are multiplied, the overall effect can be enough to give way to new a new understanding entirely. The musing on land use and identity is interesting, because one can still see similar landforms but also note how different inhabitants of the land have shaped it. Geologically and geographically the landscape is very similar but what has helped shape it to it's current state is important to understand; much like stepping back and realizing why it felt like 'us and them'.

The theme of 'us and them' emerged from conversation with William as well as from the overall tone of the conversation with Shannon. 'Culture remains' is a code distinctly drawn from Shannon based on the manner in which she described why she did not wish to be interviewed. The final theme of 'connection and service to people' is related to

Shannon and Roberta as they specifically engaged with or referenced others while talking about Wounded Knee.

Connection and Service to People

Both Shannon and Roberta offered to connect the author to additional people. While Shannon was upset about the author's request for an interview and Roberta was not, they were both willing to extend the time for a bit of conversation and social connection.

Figure 04.27 is the author's attempt to represent the more poignant aspects of the conversations. The trees represent a filling in of the voids and sadness caused by the massacre and further articulated by modern infrastructure which route people through the space. Nothing structural is introduced as the concept was to only montage that which would be naturally occurring in the space. In this case, the author used the graphic of an indigenous tree.

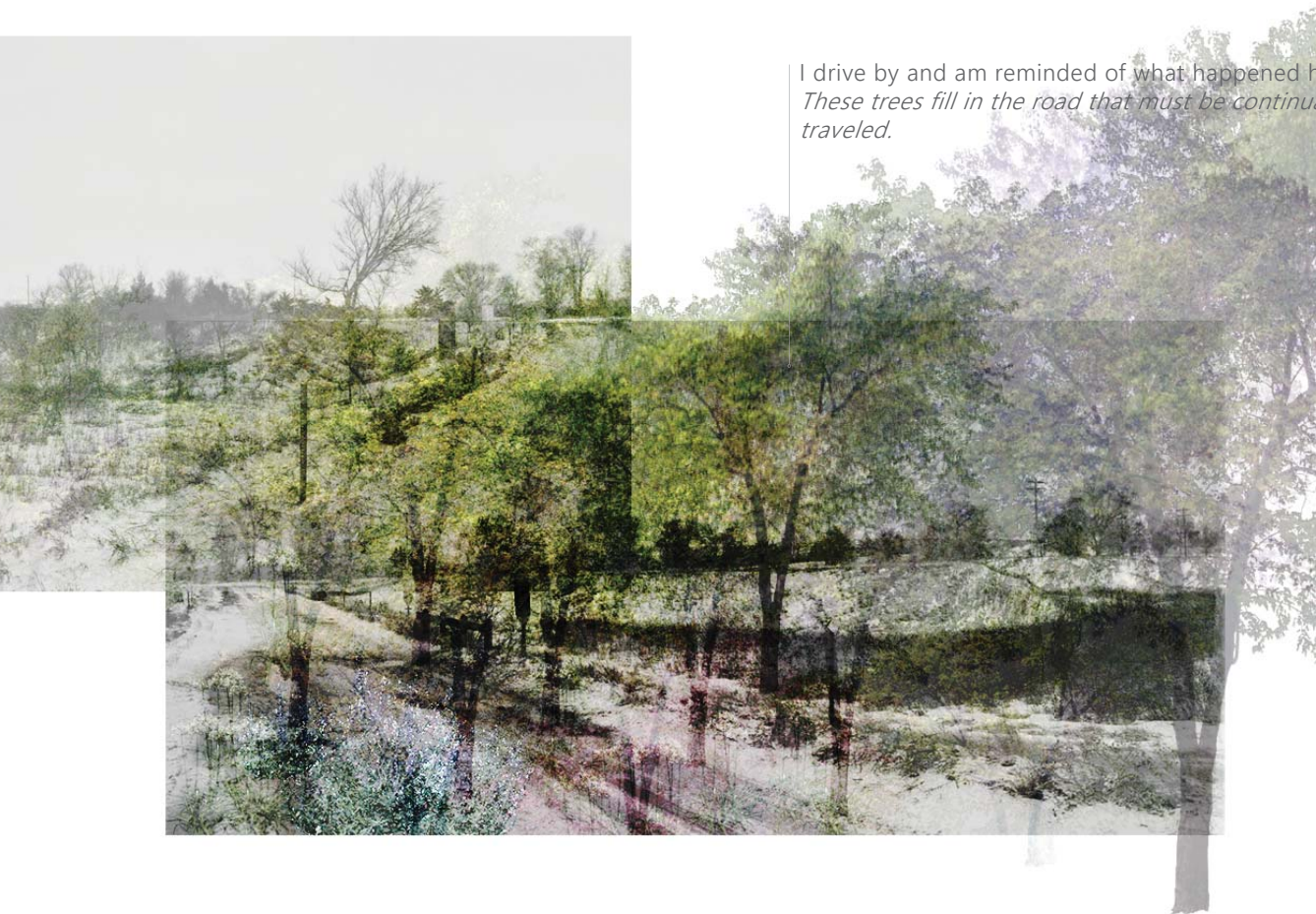
Informal Conversations

We have our culture, we have our land, we have our language. *The shades in the background should not be covered nor concealed as they represent the culture is alive and strong for the Lakota.*



I don't think about it all the time, but when I do, I get sad. *These trees are meant to show a way to "shield" and mask the idea of having to see something unpleasant.*

Figure 04.27 Informal Conversations Visual Representation (by Author)



I drive by and am reminded of what happened here.
These trees fill in the road that must be continually traveled.

Conclusions

The author began interviewing respondents on the Pine Ridge Reservation assuming that what was understood as contested meaning was between Lakota and outsiders. The author believed contention exists because Wounded Knee is often remembered as a battle rather than a massacre and the impacts of what that ‘classification’ means to the Lakota. The author hypothesized that the conflict in meaning was primarily between Lakota and non-Indigenous people. Over the course of the interviews, there appeared to be an additional contention amongst the Lakota indigenous population (intra-tribally). In addition, certain social and economic issues emerged from the narratives. Other themes emerged which suggested that infrastructure might be hampering the healing process. These findings, and others, were detailed in the individual interviews and utilized in the Design Inquiry activities (described in the chapter of the same name)..

Themes had some continuity but not in such prevalence that singular design ideas could emerge in the way the author felt the findings might have suggested when initially designing the study. More than the lack of narrative continuity, the author felt it was important to reconsider the method for obtaining interviews. The cautioning from Ed regarding commemoration input from the Wounded Knee community made the author realize the impact of inquiry as well as the paramount importance of including a larger group of people in the process.

Mapping highlighted the opportunities to consider when designing a commemorative space either on or off of the reservation. Softscape and hardscape materiality opportunities were discovered when researching the native vegetation and wildlife. Native vegetation species and wildlife could be utilized and supported in potential design solutions. Stone or other hardscape materials could be informed by the par-

ent material which formed the soil of the Wounded Knee landscape. Mapping also conveyed the utilitarian aspect of the semi-permanent structures used by the merchants at Wounded Knee. These structures could influence future design designs through form or function. Infrastructure at Wounded Knee supports tourism and aids locals in access to the cemetery, church, and homesteads in the area. One of the busiest roads on the reservation bisects the Wounded Knee site. This observation was obvious at the site and was a theme touched on in the interviews. Moving forward, it could be advantageous to consider where a road leading to Wounded Knee might reroute. The mapping also showed constraints Wounded Knee possesses by its remote nature as well as the limited signage.

The ethnographically-inspired site visits and interviews conducted and documented in this chapter were especially helpful in understanding the large swath of narratives associated with Wounded Knee. All findings were utilized in the design inquiry activities while conducting the project supported by the research and investigation completed through the literature review, and precedent studies. The design inquiry work borne from the previous methods is described in the following chapter.



Figure 05.01 Site Scale Design Inquiry (by Author)

05

Design Inquiry

- Process
- Concepts
- Guidelines
- Application
- Summary

Process

The design inquiry portion of this study has been fluid and an integral part of the entire process. My notebooks have gathered in number this semester with ideas and concepts along with images of people read about, studied and considered. The images (figure 05.02) adjacent are examples of drawings and concepts cataloged in my notebooks. Much of the drawing took place during the literature review, exploring the precedent studies, while transcribing the interviews and my own reflections.

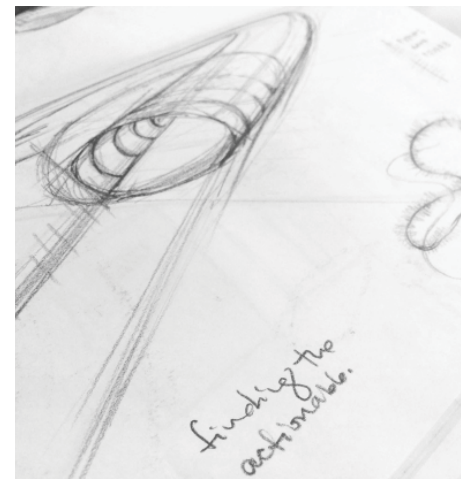
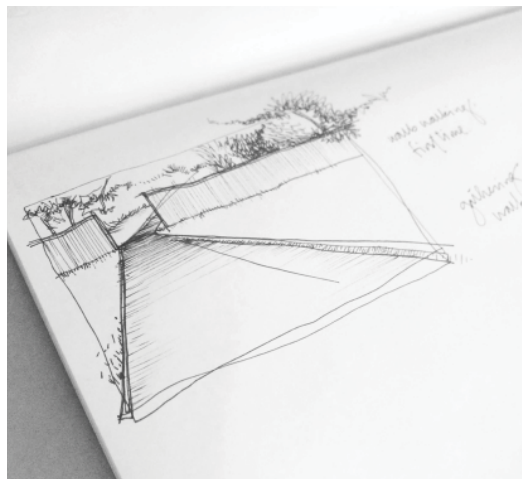
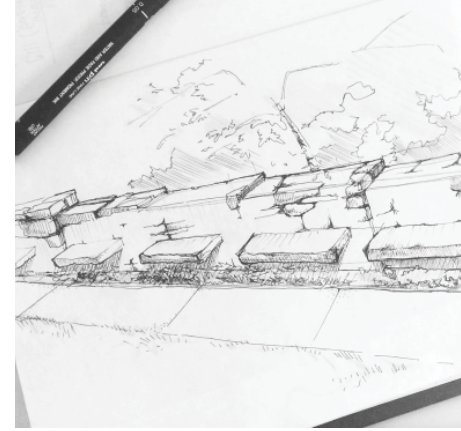
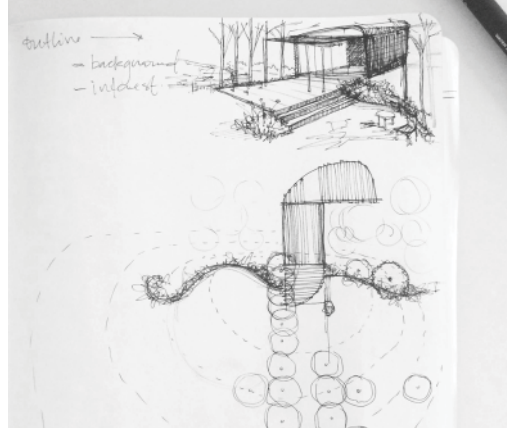


Figure 05.02 Design Inquiry Throughout Project (by Author)

Concepts

Initial Iterations + Refocus

While transcribing the interviews throughout the spring, the author would often take breaks to draw out thoughts and gain perspective on what she was reading and absorbing. During this process, she sketched the concept of a snake. She believed the snake was an interesting metaphor to draw upon for inspiration because the snake is able to shed its skin and continue on. In the snake's own way, it has the ability to transform and start anew. The author pictured the frame of a snake-like overhead structure serving as a sense of enclosure along a path of remembrance. The drawing envisioned the oval form of an overhead structure and path flanked by and meandering through native plant species (figure 05.04).

While drawing the path, the author began thinking that native landscapes are restored because we recognize the beauty and services they provide, yet we don't restore native people to the original land (figure 05.03). A memorial as a restoration project began to take shape.

This concept stalled when research showed snakes as culturally inappropriate for the Sioux. Sioux means 'little snakes' and the name was given to the tribe by an enemy tribe. There were other instances where the author felt more time and sensitivity needed to be put into the project to be able to fully grasp narratives on the reservation. She had a deep understanding of conflict resolution and design in communities of tragedy and violence. She refocused this knowledge from the this project's precedent studies, literature review, and the time spent on the reservation as well as her experiences living and working in Northern Ireland and made the choice to change the final outcome of the project.

The concept of native vegetation as a metaphor for restoring the native people remained but the author realized that it

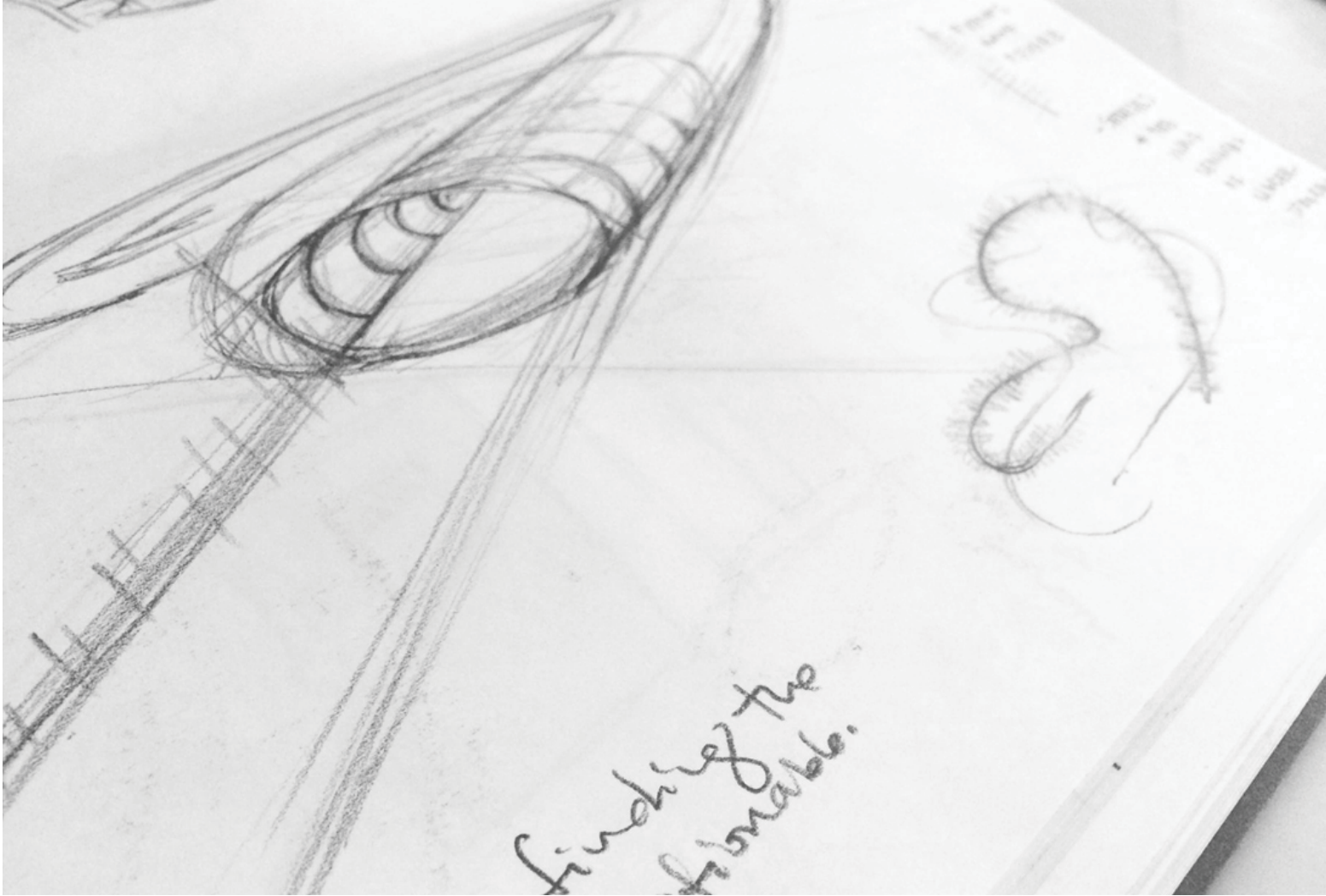


Figure 05.03 Snake Design (By Author)

might be more sensitive and culturally appropriate to rethink the project's original intention of culminating in a specific site design for a commemorative memorial.

Because of this change, guidelines were created for both the process of engagement and the form of a reconciliation-minded memorial. These guidelines were then applied very conceptually to the place of Wounded Knee and its context. The rest of this chapter documents that process.



Figure 05.04 Indigenous Restoration Ideation Subsequent to Snake Design (By Author)

Guidelines

The final concepts for the commemoration at Wounded Knee geared towards reconciliation resulted in three outcomes. After the author realized she did not have enough qualitative data nor enough cultural knowledge to design in an empathetic manner, the project took a step back to determine two sets of guidelines and an application of the guidelines. Guidelines are drawn from the literature review, precedent studies, interviews, mapping, and observations on the site visits. The set of guidelines outline a process of engagement with indigenous communities regarding reconciliation-minded design, guidance for form and function of reconciliation-minded memorials, and the application of both sets of guidelines for Wounded Knee. The application of the guidelines to Wounded Knee relies more on the interviews and mapping as they are both place and context specific.

Guidelines

Process + Engagement

Guidelines for process and engagement consider how a designer might approach a project with indigenous people in cultural landscapes regarding memorial design. Specifically, the following outlines guidance for how a designer might approach the work with a mindset of peacebuilding and eventual reconciliation:

- Engage Individuals and Groups. Do neither exclusively.
- Ask if commemoration is desired. Determine why/why not.
- Research realms of landscape narratives so that the stories and the telling are understood. Explore, analyze, and synthesize the narratives of the social, political, ecological, and economic context.

Because memorials are an expression of the identity and culture of a place, it is paramount to engage with people, both in groups and individually, to find common ground. No amount of reading about a place orients a designer to being in the landscape of a past tragedy better than exploring the identity of those affected through conversation and first-hand observation. The ethnographically-inspired methodology of this study supports this approach as narrative inquiry provides opportunity for objective and subjective data collection through interviewing and the subsequent representation of the qualitative data findings.

Of utmost importance is to begin the process by asking whether this is something the survivors, or those that might be depicted in the commemoration actually wish to have a memorial honoring their history. According to the precedent study research, community members have either decried commemoration or sought their own form of remembrance when they felt a memorial was off-base or too upsetting.

Jewish Community members called into question the need for the memorial in Berlin while Vietnamese women took it upon themselves to create their own type of peaceful remembrance for Son My/My Lai victims. Further cultural nuance was revealed during the research on Son My/My Lai. A Vietnamese social anthropologist discovered culturally-relative spiritual beliefs on death and dying. As documented in the precedent study, conversations revealed that ghosts were jealous of other ghosts that received more attention as victims of more famous massacres. The continued presence of the victims through their ghosts was a cultural aspect the author was not expecting. The concept of the ghosts being jealous of one another for receiving more or less attention depending on attention given to different massacres shows the degree to which the current villagers are connected to the deceased. This finding describes the cultural differences one might find as a designer. This highlights the importance of understanding the context. And to understand the context, one must acquire knowledge from ethnographies or immerse themselves within the culture themselves. If immersion is an option, approach conversations with the mindset of openness and curiosity. Be prepared to invest in time and the people. The stories told are where the information is found.

Guidelines

Form + Function

After considering guidelines for the process and engagement, this report also considers the guidelines for the form and function of memorials designed to promote peacebuilding in landscapes of previous tragedy or violence. The following are suggestions taken from the precedent studies, literature review, interviews (interpreted as both subjective and objective views) as well as language from Corner's writings on materiality, spatiality and temporality:

- Reflective of truth.
- Abstracted form.
- Implement interactive components.
- Promote awareness building
- A forward focus (on the living).
- Economic considerations carefully scrutinized.

As listed, commemorative landscapes should be designed to reflect truth, utilize abstraction (which allows for multiple narratives and understandings), have some form of interactive components, promote awareness building, and be geared towards the living. Additionally, commemorative spaces that generate money are ones to be carefully considered for appropriateness. Economic considerations should be entirely contingent upon the context.

Truth in memorialization is characterized by the way that stories related to an event are shared and displayed in ways that are not misleading. Vukovar is an example of a place where stories of specific groups are extremely underrepresented in the memorial landscape. This has led to further distrust and alienation amongst various ethnic groups in the area. While memorials are not solely responsible for the rifts, they are partially culpable for perpetuating stories that narrow the truth of a time period; further marginalizing specific groups. A way forward seems to be engagement in the community

and understanding what might be unifying and could create a neutral canvas to begin to metaphorically create together. Using the findings from the 'Informal Conversations' theme of 'us and them', it might be appropriate to consider the geological narratives of the landscape to act as a unifier and create a safe space for truth sharing and telling. A memorial that only tells one part of a tragic story inherently discounts the other side; further silencing quiet voices.

If monuments are to be part of the commemorative landscape, an abstracted form is more appropriate to express ideas rather than typical forms based on the human figure. Abstracted forms allow for less literal interpretations and allow stories to be more slowly revealed. Two precedents, Vukovar and My Lai, both had research associated with them that argue there was either too much memorialization or that there needed to be space for people to celebrate life and the living and not be faced with the constant reminder of those that had died. In the example of My Lai, dummies depicting the actual manner of death the victims experienced is visceral and almost borders that of a caricature depiction. While this may be helpful educationally and would make a visitor remember what they saw through sheer shock value, it does not speak to peacebuilding or reconciliation. In the case of Wounded Knee, one interviewee stated that the memorial ride (for Wounded Knee) was much like picking at a scab. The wound of Wounded Knee, he said, would never heal if people continually relive the original scenario. The Lakota migration from the Standing Rock Reservation to the Pine Ridge Reservation, ending at the time of the massacre was a wound for the Lakota people that has not been given space, intra-tribally, to heal. He said nothing new comes from picking at a scab; the wound only continues to fester.

Therefore, museums and memorials that feature the actu-

al horrors of a tragedy are appropriate for memorials that seek to educate but not ones that are meant to bring people together and move forward. Current commemorations of Wounded Knee serve in an educational capacity to teach outsiders what happened at Wounded Knee. A memorial geared towards reconciliation should not be programmed as a museum or be educational primarily.

The interview process revealed the interest in interactive memorials. Both Francis and Ed mentioned the Vietnam Veterans Memorial as examples of commemoration when asked specifically about memorials. It therefore seems important to consider materials that can be molded or carved in order to allow for etchings. Reflective surfaces can temporarily place a person in the situation or story and also requires the person to see themselves as part of the narrative. As suggested by research on empathy and storytelling, reflective surfaces could extend the perceived boundary of what is considered a marginalized group by witnessing one's own reflection in an object at the memorial. In a way, a person could rewrite a part of the narrative simply by being in the place and taking part observation or reading if there happens to be words engraved in the surface. Though it may not need to be something literally reflective, but rather, something that connotes reflection. The use of material that allows a visitor to interact is important because it allows the person to carry a memory of the interaction. Carrying a memory forward can potentially lead to greater impact on the individual (awareness building) and the knowledge and insight they share with others.

Memorials that are meant to be reconciliatory should be programmatically designed as flexible spaces so that anyone can have access and usage can change as needed. Flexibility allows for interpretation and action based upon the interpretation. `

Application

Concepts

The following iteration is meant to be loose and schematic as the author felt it wasn't appropriate to present specific designs given the circumstance. As previously stated, had the author been able to interview more, or spend more devoted time (weeks or months) on the reservation and engage in a more comprehensive way with the community there would have been more finalized designs. As such, the schematic designs have been photographed at such an angle to suggest concepts rather than concrete, finalized ideas. This research will be made available to members in the Lakota community the author worked with, and in doing so, she recognizes that Wounded Knee is an extremely sensitive subject. To appropriately design with people for an event such as Wounded Knee it requires working with the community, seeking feedback and producing iterations informed by working in tandem with the community. As the research and design inquiry stands currently, the author felt it appropriate to offer ideas, rather than finalized plans.

Figure 05.05 offers the inspirational concept of “scatters their own” with spatial qualities using metaphor as a trope to tell the story of Wounded Knee. “Scatters their own” is what the Oglala Lakota tribe historically did when attending tribal meetings, sun dances, or other celebrations. They were the protectors of the Lakota. They stationed themselves on the outside of the camps and kept watch. Materials might be chosen that reflect the notion of guardianship and honor with respect to strong perimeter lines. The Lakota were forced to circle up and camp surrounded by hostility. In this re-imagined circle, it is a space of celebration and protection. Encircling and protecting a space that is active and vibrant can result in interesting overlaps with private, semi-private and very open areas.

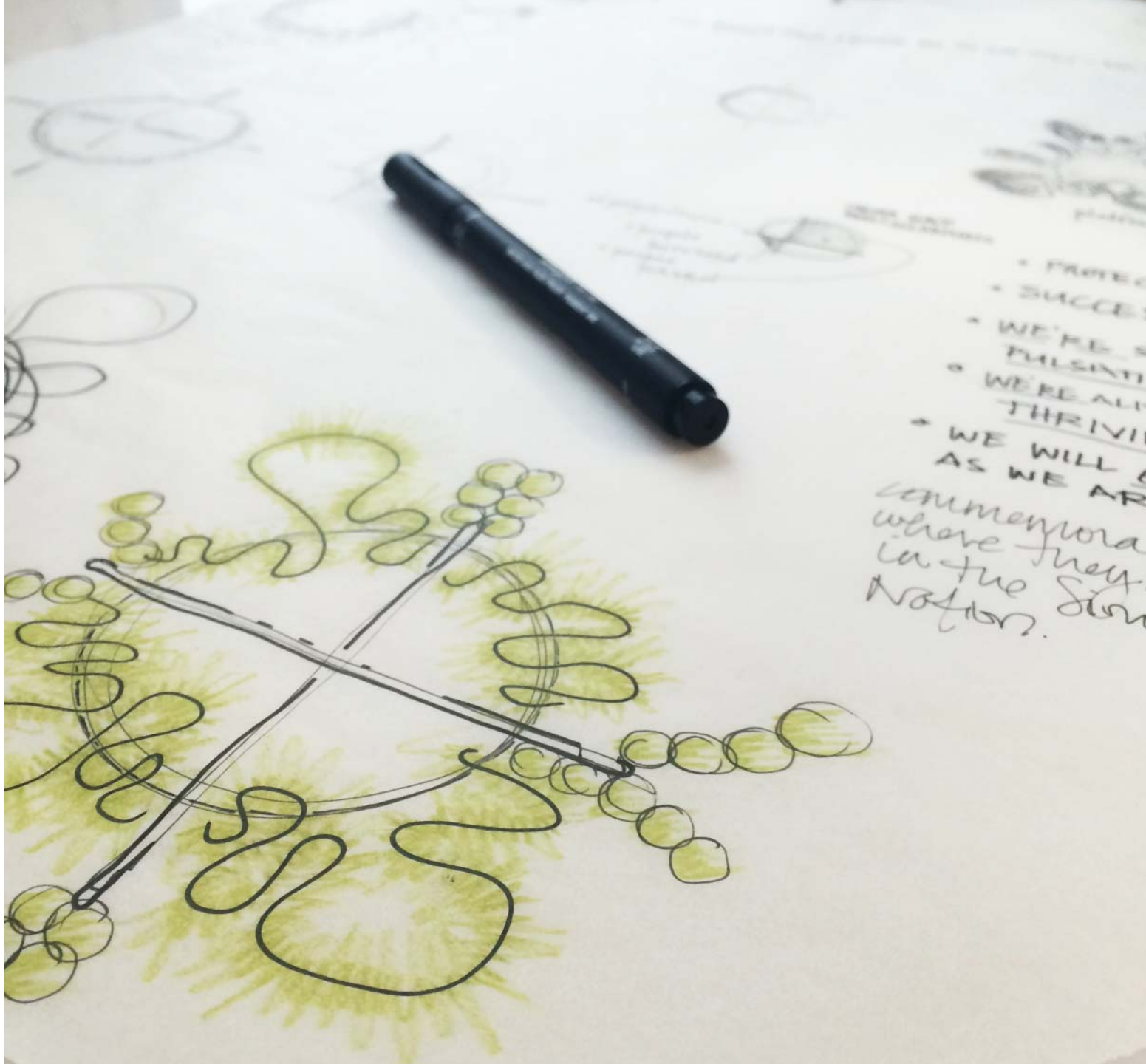


Figure 05.05 Metaphor of "Scatter Their Own" (by Author)

Application

Iteration

The application of the guidelines resulted in the concept of a native plant nursery located on the reservation that supplies plants to individuals, on and off the reservation. These plants would eventually be used for a large-scale plant design that can be viewed from the sky representing the ‘rewriting of boundaries’. The planting might be temporarily placed in the large, open field where the army was stationed. The planting might also extend throughout areas beyond the reservation in a way that would help “reconnect” land and people. Boundaries further and further shrunk the land of the Sioux tribe. So if Wounded Knee was the symbolic end to the Indian Wars and the beginning of reservation life, then the reconciliation-minded memorial can symbolize the return of indigenous prominence on the land. The design and metaphor can speak through indigenous species marking the growing, evolving, and reclaimed treaty lines. Figures 05.05-05.14 show examples of the author’s design application utilizing many of the concepts taken from the previously established guidelines. Further description of this concept is outlined in the following social, ecological, economic, and design detail sections.

Social

This type of memorial could act as a platform for the community; literally and metaphorically. Implementing a structural component could create communal space that is warm and dry which would be a service to the community. It could provide refuge and act as a staging area for outreach programs while also creating a more accessible place for merchants to sell their crafts year-round.

Plant material can be used educationally and aesthetically. If the spatial ordering and hierarchy of spaces for outdoor plantings are done in such a way that highlights specific species, in beds or framed by hardscape (or other softscape

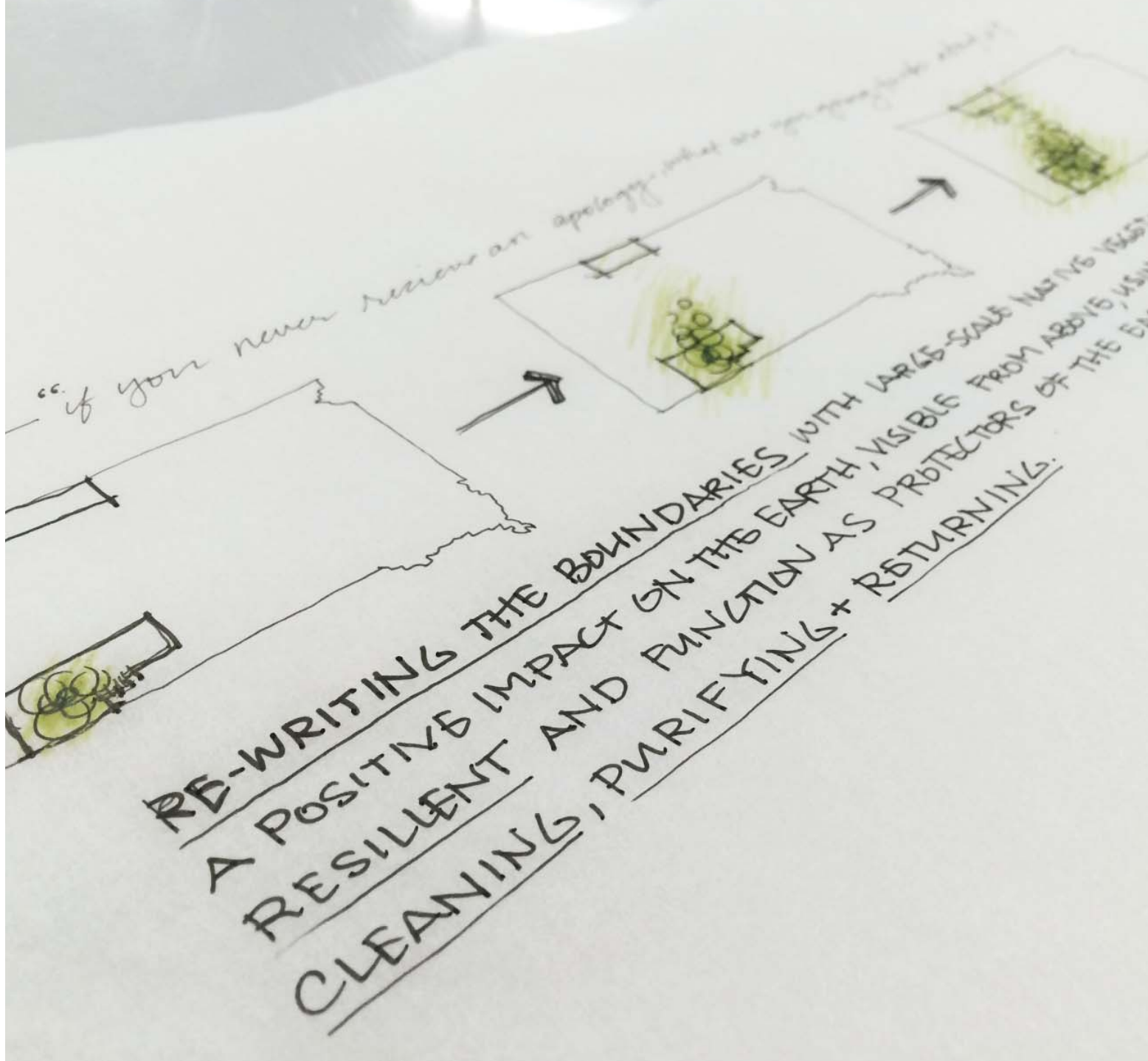


Figure 05.06 Large-Scale Planting Concept (by Author)

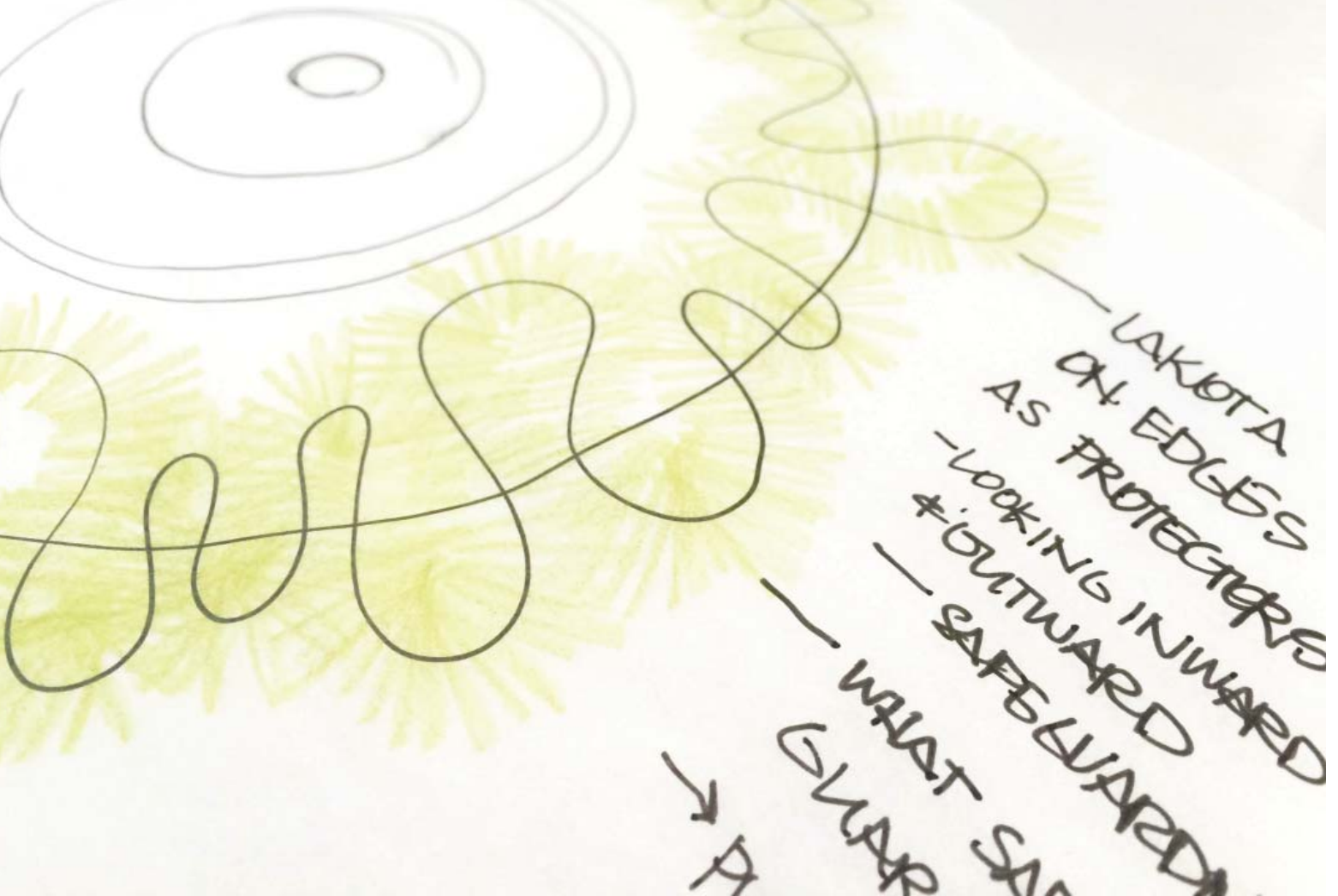


Figure 05.07 Adjacencies as Irony (by Author)

material), certain attention could be drawn to specific species use aesthetically, educationally and the ecosystem services they provide. Plants themselves can also act as a metaphor. Temporally the nature of the plant material is one that respects the past, but participates in the future to amend and make the earth right. Stewardship would or could encourage positive social engagement and interaction. It would provide work and purpose with the goal of working to make or create something both on the reservation and off the reservation (the large-

scale planting). Having something to work toward collectively supplies people of different backgrounds something easy with which to begin a conversation. Having a planting off the reservation engages a new group of people that might not otherwise be familiar with the Lakota nor the reservation. It was expressed in the interviews that some people are hesitant to come on the reservation. By having a reason to interact with a Lakota off the reservation, there would be more chance of combatting prejudice and negative stereotyping.

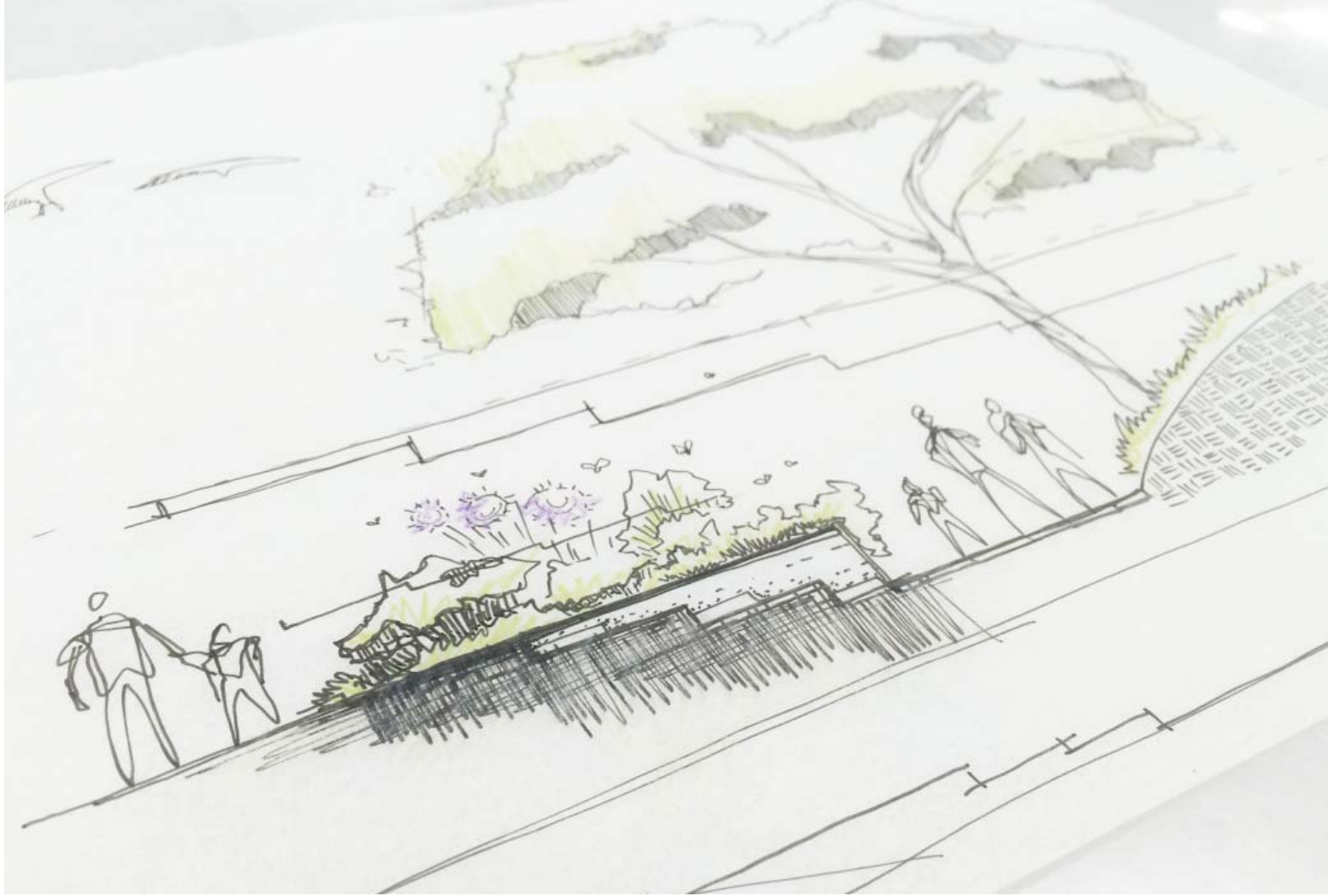
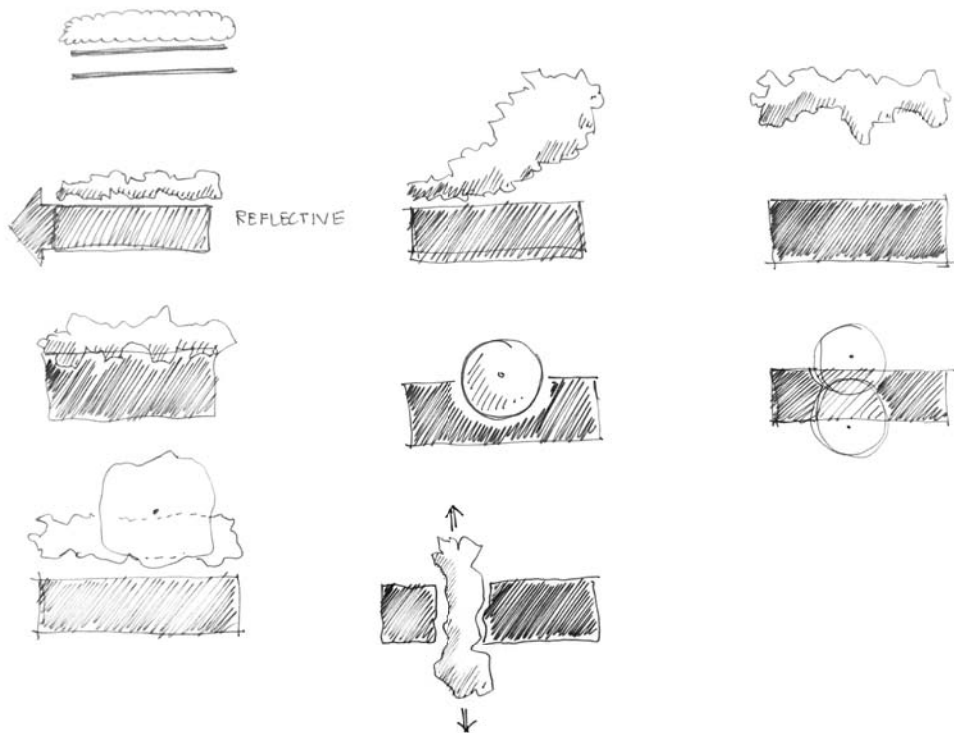


Figure 05.08 Nursery Interaction (by Author)

Ecological

Specific plant material can be drawn from the Findings chapter as well as from Appendix B as a guide for resilient species native to the Wounded Knee environs. Figure 05.08 is an example of a way the plants might be organized to showcase different qualities while providing a variety of experiences for different groups of people. The varying levels shown in the figure reflect the gradual and sometimes steep quality of the prairie, hills, and canyons of the local area. Figures

05.09 and 05.10 on the following page show the plant to path relationships which could be considered to explore the use of metaphor at the site. Using the theory of prospect and refuge, a person could be moved to feel certain qualities depending on how safe or exposed they feel throughout a pedestrian experience through the site. Further discussion of these two figures is located in the 'programmatic and design details' section to detail more specific spatial relationships. The plants selected for plantings in these areas, as well as



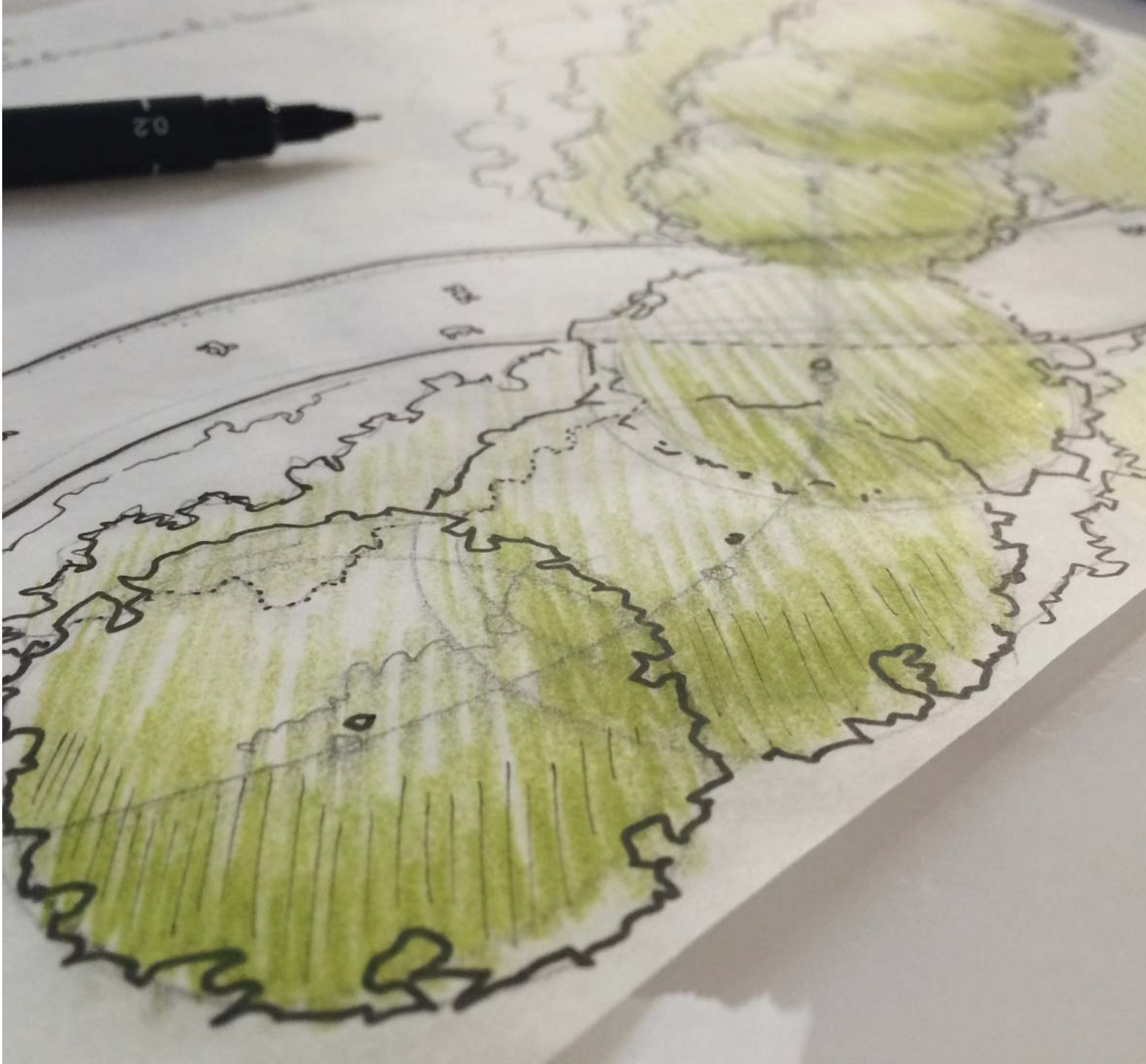


Figure 05.10 Example of Metaphor Associations (by Author)

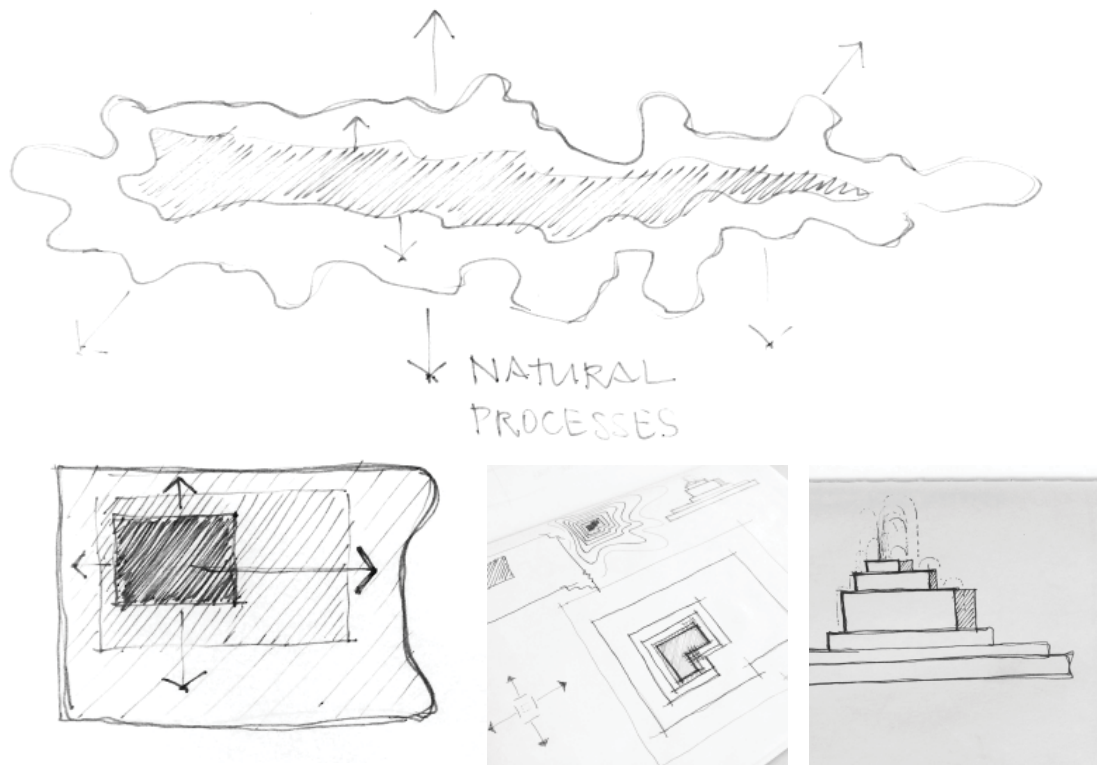


Figure 05.11 Associations as Synecdoche (by Author)

articulated by members of the community to respond to cultural appropriateness. There should be a procedure for ascertaining what they would like to have included. Once initial designs are developed there should be several meetings which would allow for feedback and new iterations. The following concepts were taken from crafts purchased at Wounded Knee, interviews, literature review, precedent studies, and from the personal drawing and notation completed throughout the project.

- Use of circles
- The number four
- The colors black, red, white, yellow
- Metaphor of scatter their own- protectors on the outside as that is the manner in which Oglala Lakota historically behaved at gatherings
- Dream catcher- good is caught and bad passes through-

economic and social- use of spiders in habitat create walks and habitats of positivity.

Circles could be spatially implemented to connote safety and wholeness. This shape is spiritually special to the Lakota as they see life as cyclical (referenced in interviews and from crafts received at Wounded Knee). The number four is also referenced in crafts purchased at Wounded Knee. It was on a card and described the Lakota value of affinity that included: trusting, belonging, inter-personal relationships values, and living in harmony with each other. The concept of four is also important because it symbolizes the four cardinal directions (north, south, east and west), the four seasons (winter, spring, summer and fall), and the four elements (earth, wind, fire and water).

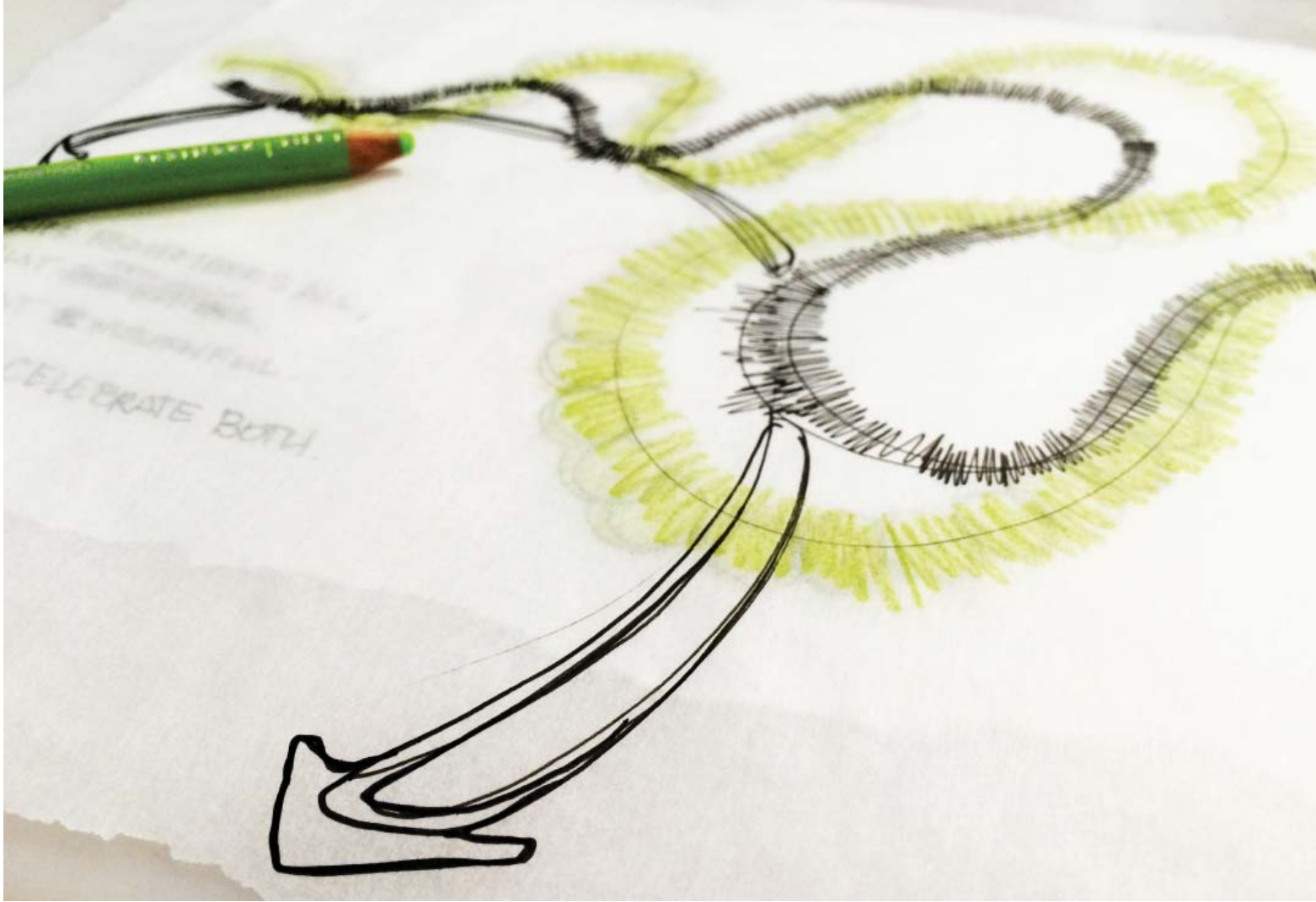


Figure 05.12 Path Overlay Iteration (by Author)

Figures 05.09 through 05.14 show examples of material associations that might be used in the formation of the nursery. The associations are based on tropes as a way to tell the story of peacebuilding and Wounded Knee. Previously written about, figure 05.09 also details ways in which paths might have vegetation interacting in such a way that engages or dismisses a person (metaphorically) within the site. Form is explored in figure 05.11 by implementing the trope of

synecdoche. This iteration explores the simple notion of a boundary using either water or plant material. Either water or plants can move through gravity or through succession, respectively. The fluidity of both could be implemented together or separately. If using water, it also has the wonderful reflective quality which would work well to potentially build empathy in a person (as written about in the literature review). More iterations of path overlays in figure 05.12

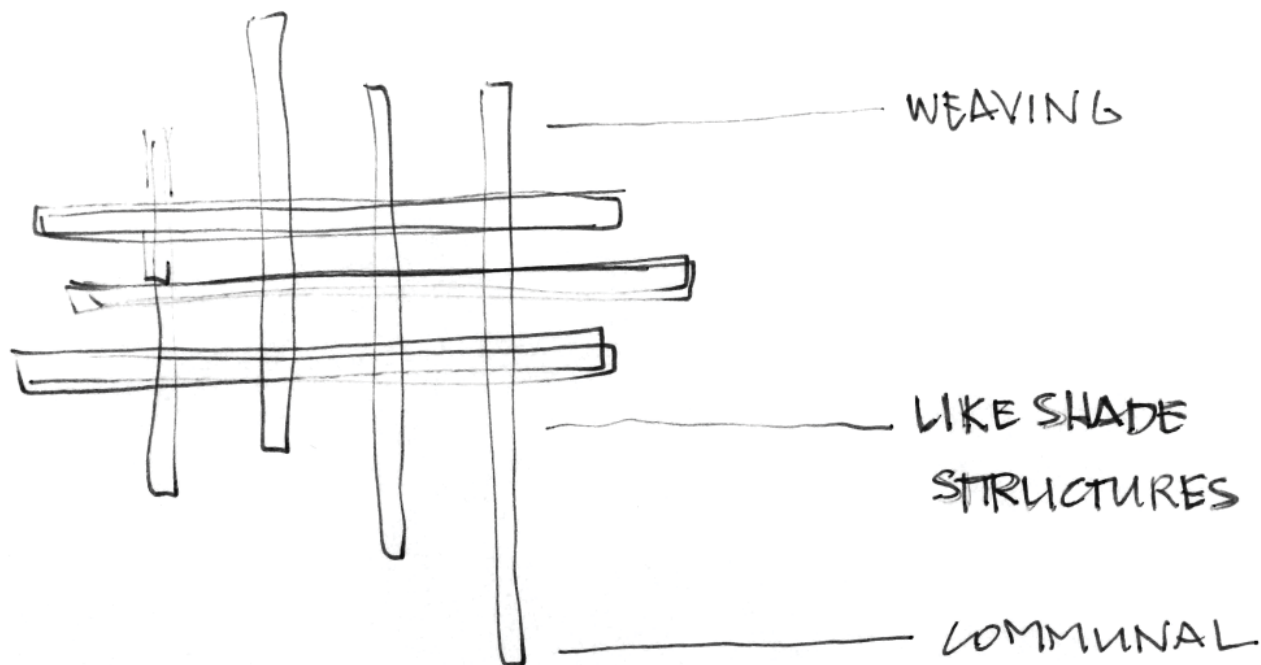


Figure 05.13 Associations as Metonymy (by Author)

show how there might be a weaving effect achieved with certain paths being more exposed and other paths are being more shaded (the green represents overhead plane vegetation). This figure specifically references the initial concept of “scatters their own” but implements the idea of an overhead plane to serve as constant watch and guard.

Figures 05.13 and 05.14 contains concepts of the metonymy trope used to mimic the structure of the craft economy at

Wounded Knee. The shade structures weave together to create something bigger than the individual branches. By working together the smaller structure of the branches can create and connect outward, upward, and downward. This final concept reflects on the idea of forgiveness in all directions.

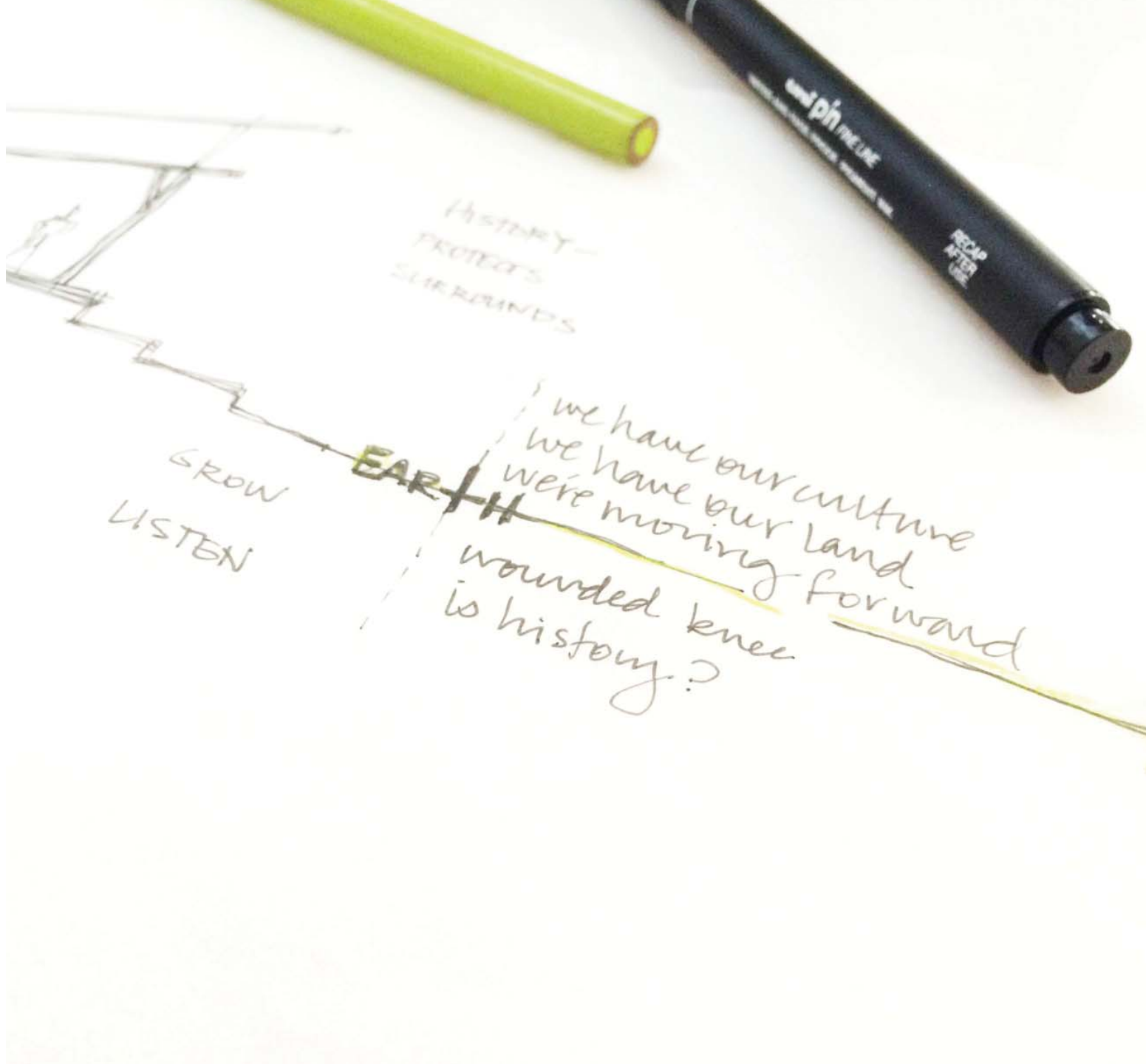


Figure 05.14 Structure Iteration (by Author)

Summary

The design concepts are presented conceptually to allow for interpretation on the behalf of the involved Lakota tribes. The concept of a nursery needs to be further scrutinized, spatially located, and designed with concepts taken from the methods of this report. The concept of the large scale planting should be more finely detailed and coordinated for the plan to be successful. Overhead structures for shade and adjacent spaces for community gathering should be designed to reflect the spirit of the place. Finally, all considerations would need to be proposed and discussed with community members in an iterative process.



Figure 06.01 Takeaways (by Author)

06 Conclusions

Project Summary

Value

Limitations

Recommendations for Future Research

Implications

Conclusions

Project Summary

This project explored the question: **How might memorials be designed as a reconciliatory agent in cultural landscapes with conflicting histories?** This contextual inquiry explored ways to answer the question through the lens of the Wounded Knee massacre. The study examined this inquiry further by considering the following subquestions:

History | What actually happened at Wounded Knee?

Narratives of Site | What stories have been previously told?

People | Who was and is involved and what defines them?

These original questions were engaged through a methodology including literature review, precedent studies, ethnographically-inspired interviews and site visits, mapping, and design inquiry. Methods for the study explored narratives of Wounded Knee, commemoration in landscapes of violence or tragedy and (broadly) conflict resolution. From these questions, and the methods used to explore them, grew an awareness that led to better questions and a different understanding of the initial inquiry specific to Wounded Knee. Knowing that more profound and probing questions exist is ultimately what ethnography (in its true form) supports. Narrative inquiry especially promotes and supports the understanding that ethnography leads to new levels of awareness and richer answers when, from the outside, a researcher is unsure of what questions to initially ask. This is precisely why the project changed in final form and outcome. The ethnographically-inspired methods used for this project helped to inform that need to amend the outcome.

As such, the methodology led to the production of guidelines for process and engagement, form and function, and

an application of the guidelines for Wounded Knee. The application of the guidelines led to the conceptual design of a nursery on the Pine Ridge Reservation that would serve as a hub to grow and supply native plant species. These plants could be bought for private use but also for the eventual installation of a large scale planting representing the return of indigenous plant species and indigenous peoples' prominence in the landscape. Wounded Knee represented the end of the traditional way of life for the Lakota. The reconciliatory-minded memorial could be the step towards taking back what (some people feel) hasn't been acknowledged through apologies or other acts of retribution and might allow for moving forward and healing the scars of the massacre.

This project does not have the satisfying end that might characterize a typical design project. Instead, it has assembled knowledge and application that can be used to further the process of peace and social justice in regards to past traumas and continued struggles the Lakota have experienced and continue to live with. Likewise, as a designer, I have become deeply aware that stories are a powerful way to explore a place and it's people.

Conclusions

Value

For an outsider, graphically representing stories of people living in a place gives a glimpse into the experience. Showing how differently, within a culture or group, an event is remembered builds cultural awareness and knowledge of history. Being equipped with more knowledge and a greater capacity to culturally-relate allows for better question-asking. Better questions allows for deeper understanding.

For Lakota, this study can be a reference for further ways to study their native landscape and consider how physical and spatial qualities of the past affect the future. By attempting to restory the people and their narratives the study gives a more unbiased view of what is being shared and builds awareness of the experiences on the reservation.

Conclusions

Limitations

Limitations came in the form of time, social limits in methods approach (on my own part), and weather. So much of the limitations were grounded temporally. Other limitations included layout of the questions and connections on the reservation.

To conduct an in-depth ethnography, I would have needed much more time with the respondents, friends, and acquaintances on the Pine Ridge Reservation. I would also have needed to relieve myself of many of the apologetic sounds I heard in my voice and tone during the interview transcripts. Much of the apologetics came from my desire to be inoffensive and possibly compensating for intruding into their lives and community. I have a deep sense that because my questions were stereotypically from my Anglo background perspective I was missing something. I initially thought it was that I wasn't asking the right questions, but upon reflection, I wasn't touching on the correct subjects. While I think that is the case, the reason the tone of questions missed the mark and the reason there was no way, in the moment, to try to push a question of mine was due to the nature in which questions are answered on the reservation. The questions I asked garnered responses in which answers, stories and wisdom were interwoven. An answer didn't always present itself right away, but over the course of 20-30 minutes an answer was illustrated through anecdote and the respondent's thoughts on the subject. I found myself reflecting on my interaction and desire, in general, to question people as to motivations. My questions were often answered through story. While the story was surely, and acknowledged to be of the person's opinion, it was not delivered in the same manner in which I would speak. The answers didn't seem to be evasive; simply, answers are illustrated through ideas, anecdotes, and story. Ultimately, ethnographically-inspired research isn't enough. One must do real ethnography to gain the informa-

tion needed to apply the knowledge in a meaningful enough way for memorial design.

This project began the interview process by approaching individuals in the reservation known to the author. This allowed for a deeper level of interview, however, the number of interviews was limited to just a few people.

Conclusions

Recommendations for Future Research

Research by indigenous scholars of indigenous topics is of high importance. It was directly pointed out, through the interviews, that indigenous researchers are underrepresented in research regarding Wounded Knee. It could be of interest to determine why there is an underrepresentation of indigenous researchers; what the barriers are, and is there specifically a gap in the field of landscape architecture that such researchers and research could fill?

Forms of narrative inquiry could be more fully utilized on the Pine Ridge Reservation, or any context where oral history and oral tradition is a large part of the culture. This method is also very appropriate to use as a wayfinding strategy in places of conflict or varied narratives that are not well articulated or fully understood. As previously stated, narrative inquiry is an important method for seeking answers for questions not initially apparent. It primes a study to allow for new meanings to emerge. Kim's book on narrative inquiry should be sought after to engage ethnographies, or in the case of this study, ethnographically-inspired research, as it outlines very specific ways to cultivate meaning from the qualitative data. In a more in-depth study, it would be very interesting to further utilize the arts-based approach to narrative inquiry and visualization to have various reservation demographics visually catalog their experiences. The group could work together with researchers on transcriptions and coding to find new meaning in traditional stories in ways that could promote contemporary understanding through empathy generation.

Conclusions

Implications

The initial premise of the project was situated in the understanding that events with contested meaning are difficult to memorialize because there are so many differing voices; irreconcilable in the built form. Literature supported that Chicanos, Native Americans and African Americans were groups underrepresented in the memorial landscape. While that is true in some contexts, findings suggests that native Americans (the Lakota in this case) are *also* underrepresented because it is difficult to memorialize that which is a contemporary social justice or inter-demographic issue (differing opinions within the tribe itself). In light of this and further research, I believe that memorials seeking to honor demographics or events that directly affect contemporary groups might be contextually more appropriate, and act as mediators, if they focus forward rather than solely and solemnly reflect the past. A notable voice in the conflict resolution field states, “Ironically, the pathway to healing may not lie with becoming more serious. This may explain one reason that people of so many geographies of violence have developed such extraordinary senses of humor and playfulness” (Lederach, 2005, 160). Within conflict resolution, playfulness, stories, and food are all unifying components. This opens up more questions to consider both the strife and humor present and further inquire how conflict and commemoration have affected the people and landscape. Research suggests that conflict resolution and landscape architecture speak similar languages. The collaborative nature of landscape architecture together with the profession’s ability to understand and interpret complex systems and narratives, through landscape performance, can fully engage and bring form to the morally imaginative, creative act of peacebuilding.

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Appendix A

IRB Documents

Narratives of Wounded Knee

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Approval Date of Project: _____ Expiration Date of Project: _____

WHAT THE STUDY IS ABOUT: The purpose of the study is to better understand the alternative stories and experiences of Wounded Knee in order to inform the process of a commemorative landscape design in the spirit of conflict resolution and reconciliation.

WHAT WE WILL ASK YOU TO DO: The following document describes the interview process as part of the research conducted in partial fulfillment of a student investigation. The researcher will conduct audio-recorded interviews. Upon consent, the researcher will ask questions regarding your experience and knowledge of Wounded Knee. The entire project will conclude in May 2016, but the interview process for which you will participate will only be 20 min-1 hour.

BENEFITS: Producing narratives regarding Wounded Knee may bring forth greater understanding of the Lakota culture and provide opportunity for reflection in a way that might serve to better inform self-knowledge, self-awareness and education of Lakota culture towards non-Lakota. In the production of the final product of commemorative landscape design, the benefit and goal of the study is to **develop meaningful** concepts and contribute to the knowledge-base of practicing landscape architecture in empathetic ways responsive to the process and cultivation of understanding of the individual designer and the communities we participate and live within.

RISK: Risk is minimized in the interview process by offering to meet where the interviewee feels comfortable or is inside in case of potentially inclement weather.

COMPENSATION OR MEDICAL TREATMENT AVAILABILITY IF INJURY OCCURRS: The researcher nor the institution is able to compensate participants of this study.

ANSWERS ARE CONFIDENTIAL: The records of this study will be kept private. As the findings will be publicly available, we will not associate names with the specific narratives nor include any information that will make it possible to identify you. The audio of the interviews will be destroyed once the tapes have been transcribed. The researchers anticipate removal of the audio 6 months after recording, at the end of the study, once interviews have been transcribed. Prior to the end of the study, research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researchers will have access to the records.

TERMS OF YOUR PARTICIPATION: You understand that this project is research and taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose to not answer any questions that you do not want to answer. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which you may otherwise be entitled.

IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS: The researchers conducting this study are Professor Lorn Clement as Principal Investigator and Beth Krehbiel as a Co-Investigator. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact the following people:

Professor Lorn Clement, Principal Investigator

lacjr@ksu.edu | 1-785-556-1556

Beth Krehbiel, Co-Investigator

bkrehb@ksu.edu | 1-620-388-3669

IRB CHAIR CONTACT INFORMATION:

Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506 | 1-785-532-3224

Jerry Jax, Associate Vice President for Research Compliance and University Veterinarian, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506 | 1-785-532-3224

Narratives of Wounded Knee

QUESTIONS

What do you know about Wounded Knee?

Where have you heard these stories?

How has Wounded Knee affected you, your generation and future generations?

How often do you or those close to you speak about Wounded Knee?

What do you think is misrepresented about Wounded Knee?

What do you know about Oglala Lakota? Where did you learn about this?

How is Wounded Knee remembered or honored on the reservation? Off the reservation?

How do you think Wounded Knee should be remembered?

What are similar events or places? Why?

What do you associate with Wounded Knee?

What are lessons you feel could be learned from Wounded Knee?

Do you think people see Wounded Knee as having different meanings? If so, how or what?

Narratives of Wounded Knee

FOLLOW UP

Thank you for being a part of this research project. The purpose of the study was to better understand the alternative stories and experiences of Wounded Knee in order to inform processes of a commemorative landscape design in the spirit of conflict resolution and reconciliation. You were interviewed based on several questions regarding Wounded Knee and I recorded them and later transcribed and coded them.

Your participation was and will continue to be so greatly appreciated. In interviewing you, we'd hoped to document and understand the narratives regarding Wounded Knee. We wondered how the various stories might bring forth greater understanding of the Lakota culture and provide opportunities for reflection in ways which would serve to better inform self-knowledge, self-awareness and education of Lakota culture towards non-Lakota. In the production of the final product of commemorative landscape design, the benefit and goal of the study was to develop meaningful concepts and contribute to the knowledge-base of practicing landscape architecture in empathetic ways responsive to the process and cultivation of understanding of the individual designer and the communities we participate and live within.

IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS: The researchers conducting this study are Professor Lorn Clement as Principal Investigator and Beth Krehbiel as a Co-Investigator. If questions should arise, you may contact the following people:

Professor Lorn Clement, Principal Investigator | lacjr@ksu.edu | 1-785-556-1556

Beth Krehbiel, Co-Investigator | bkrehb@ksu.edu | 1-620-388-3669

IRB CHAIR CONTACT INFORMATION:

Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506 | 1-785-532-3224

Jerry Jax, Associate Vice President for Research Compliance and University Veterinarian, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506 | 1-785-532-3224

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:	IRB Protocol #	Application Received	Routed	Training Complete
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KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
University Research Compliance Office

Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (IRB)
Application for Approval Form
Please send your completed application to comply@k-state.edu

INSTRUCTIONS

Be sure to save the application PDF to your computer before you begin completing the form. You may not be able to save your changes if you edit this form in a web browser.

The KSU IRB is required by law to ensure that all research involving human subjects is adequately reviewed for specific information and is approved prior to inception of any proposed activity. Consequently, it is important that you answer all questions accurately. If you need help or have questions about how to complete this application, please call the Research Compliance Office at 532-3224, or e-mail us at comply@ksu.edu.

Please provide the requested information in the outlined text boxes. The text boxes are designed to accommodate responses within the body of the application. As you type your answers, the text boxes will expand where appropriate and as needed. After completion send your application by e-mail to comply@k-state.edu.

Additional material is requested with this application. Be sure to provide electronic copies of the following documents (if applicable) and submit them to comply@k-state.edu along with your application:

Consent Form (see *Administrative Information, IX. Informed Consent A.*)
Sponsor's grant application or contract as submitted to the funding agency; (See *Administrative Information*)
Surveys, instruments, etc used for data collection (see *V. Design and Procedures C.* and *X. Project Information P.*)
Debriefing statement to be utilized (see *IX. Informed Consent E.*)

FAILURE TO PROVIDE ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED MAY LEAD
TO A DELAY IN PROCESSING YOUR REQUEST.

Please proof read and check spelling BEFORE submitting the form.
To use Acrobat spelling check, press F7 or select EDIT, CHECK SPELLING

PLEASE CONTINUE TO THE NEXT PAGE
TO BEGIN COMPLETING THE FORM

Last Revised: 10/22/2015

IRB Application

Page 2

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION:

Title of Project/Course:

Narratives of Wounded Knee

Type of Application:

☒ New / Renewal
☐ Revision (to a pending new application)

☐ Modification to an existing approved application #:

Principal Investigator Details: (must be a KSU faculty member):

Name:

Laurence A. Clement Jr

Degree/Title:

Associate Professor

Department:

Landscape Architecture and Regional & Community Planning

Campus Phone:

785-556-1556

Campus Address:

311 Seaton Hall

E-mail:

laejr@k-state.edu

Fax #:

Responsible Graduate Student: (Person to contact for questions/problems with the form):

Name:

Beth Krehbiel

Campus Phone:

620-388-3669

E-mail:

bkrehb@ksu.edu

Does this project involve any collaborators not part of the faculty/staff at KSU? (projects with non-KSU collaborators may require additional coordination and approvals):

☒ No
☐ Yes

Project Classification (Is this project part of one of the following?):

☒ Thesis
☐ Dissertation
☐ Faculty Research

☐ Other:

Note: Class Projects should use the short form application for class projects.

Copy of the Consent Form:

☒ Copy will be submitted to comply@ksu.edu with this application
☐ Consent form not used

Funding Source:

☐ Internal
☐ External (Identify source. You will also need to provide a copy of the sponsor's grant application or contract as submitted to the funding agency. This should be submitted to comply@ksu.edu with your application.)

N/A

Based upon criteria found in 45 CFR 46 -- and the overview of projects that may qualify for exemption explained at <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/policy/checklists/decisioncharts.html>, I believe that my project using human subjects should be determined by the IRB to be exempt from IRB review:

☒ No
☐ Yes (If yes, please provide the category of "Exemption" in the space below)

Exempt Projects:

45 CFR 46 identifies six categories of research involving human subjects that may be exempt from IRB review. The categories for exemption are listed here: <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/policy/checklists/decisioncharts.html#e2> If you believe that your project qualifies for exemption, please indicate which exemption category applies (1-6). Please remember that only the IRB can make the final determination whether a project is exempt from IRB review, or not.

Exemption Category:

MODIFICATION:

Is this a modification of an approved protocol?

☒ No
☐ Yes

If yes, please comply with the following:
If you are requesting a modification or a change to an IRB approved protocol, please provide a concise description of all of the changes that you are proposing in the following block. Additionally, please highlight or bold the proposed changes in the body of the protocol where appropriate, so that it is clearly discernible to the IRB reviewers what and where the proposed changes are. This will greatly help the committee and facilitate the review.

I. NON-TECHNICAL SYNOPSIS (Please provide a brief narrative description of proposal. This should typically be less than 75 words and be easily understood by nonscientists).

The purpose of the research is to better understand the alternative stories and experiences of Wounded Knee in order to inform the process of a commemorative landscape design in the spirit of conflict resolution and reconciliation.

II. BACKGROUND (concise narrative review of the literature and basis for the study):

In a world where communities and the associated identities only continue to blend and overlap, it is important to recognize and acknowledge the differences. Recognition of such differences can lead to beautiful moments of cultural exchange, but other times the variations can contribute to contention and conflict. Landscape Architecture is situated to be a potential conduit of good design through engagement and influence in communities. Judith Wasserman writes that, "Numerous stories which defined the twentieth century still need telling (Wasserman, 2002, pg 196)." Supported by geographer Kenneth Foote, "In the twentieth century, violence crossed many frontiers to scar many landscapes. The meaning of these places remains to be resolved (Foote, 2003, pg 353)." The stories of Native Americans, Chicanos, and African Americans all have stories that are only now being heard and honored. These stories that need telling, of which the spaces are invisible or unnamed, are often places with unresolved meaning (Foote, 2003,293). Communities with spaces of contention often have multiple truths that may not be evident and cause tensions in a community. Therefore, I ask: *How might memorials be designed as a reconciliatory agent in cultural landscapes with conflicting histories?*

Foote, Kenneth E. 2003. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Revised Edition). Austin, TX, USA: University of Texas Press.

Wasserman, Judith. 2002. "Memory Embedded." *Landscape Journal* 21: 1-2. Accessed October 18, 2014, <http://lj.urepress.org/content/21/1/190>

III. PROJECT/STUDY DESCRIPTION

(Please provide a concise narrative description of the proposed activity in terms that will allow the IRB or other interested parties to clearly understand what it is that you propose to do that involves human subjects. This description must be in enough detail so that IRB members can make an informed decision about the proposal).

The study considers the event of Wounded Knee on the current-day Pine Ridge Reservation. In order to better understand the event and how a memorial might serve as a reconciliatory agent, the researchers will gather qualitative data in the form of interviews. Interviews will be with members of the Oglala Lakota Sioux Tribe on the Pine Ridge reservation, participants in Church of the Brethren workcamps which have taken place on said reservation, and people identified as unaffiliated with the Reservation.

The goal of the interviews is to interpret stories to understand what type of event Wounded Knee was and what it continues to be for individuals. To understand what a person's experience is and what they feel compelled to share as an individual intimately acquainted with the Wounded Knee and living on the Reservation is important because it sheds light on the community's collective consciousness and in doing so begins to orient the reader to experiences on the reservation. The personal narrative may shed light on the conflicting meaning of the site. More importantly, it is the goal of using ethnographic methods to understand Wounded Knee from various groups' points of view.

Specifically, the researcher conducting the audio-recorded interviews will transcribe the interviews as well as document their observations of the interview. This data will then be coded and recorded according to emergent patterns as well as commemorative practices as outlined by geographer Kenneth Foote regarding landscapes of sanctification, designation, rectification, or obliteration to better understand potential alternative meanings (Foote, 2003). Coding will also include landscape mediums (materiality, spatiality and temporality) if present in the transcripts as well as landscape narrative tropes (irony, synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor) (Swaffield, 2002; Potteiger, 1998). Coding in this manner will allow the researcher to draw comparisons between precedent studies (of which will be compared similarly). This process, coupled with extensive literature review, will produce synthesized narratives and a framework which will guide the commemorative landscape design for Wounded Knee in the spirit of conflict resolution.

Foote, Kenneth E. 2003. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Revised Edition). Austin, TX, USA:

University of Texas Press.

Potteiger, Matthew and Jarrie Puzinton. 1998. *Landscape Narratives: Design Practices for Telling Stories*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Swaffield, Simon. 2002. *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A Reader*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

IV. OBJECTIVE

(Briefly state the objective of the research - what you hope to learn from the study).

Through narrative inquiry and map-making I will create a framework in which to design a commemorative piece reflective of alternative and conflicting Wounded Knee narratives. The primary goal is to develop meaningful concepts and contribute to the knowledge-base of the landscape architecture community with regard to dealing with contentious spaces or places, and design with reconciliatory purposes. The researcher intends to learn and use ethnographic research methods to design in an empathetic way- one that is responsive to the processes and cultivation of understanding of the individual designer and the communities within which she is participating and working.

V. DESIGN AND PROCEDURES (succinctly outline formal plan for study)

A. List all sites where this research will be conducted:

Pine Ridge Reservation and environs in South Dakota.

B. Variables to be studied: Variables in the study might be found within the individual stories told regarding Wounded Knee

C. Data collection methods: (surveys, instruments, etc - **copies must submitted to comply@k-state.edu**).

Audio-Recorded Interviews
Map Creation

D. List any factors that might lead to a subject dropping out or withdrawing from a study. These might include, but are not limited to emotional or physical stress, pain, inconvenience, etc.

Subjects may choose to withdraw due to emotional stress or inconvenience.

E. List all biological samples taken: (if any)

N/A

F. Debriefing procedures for participants:

The researcher will ask participants if they have any questions at the conclusion of the interview. She will direct the participants to their copy of the consent form with contact information.

VI. RESEARCH SUBJECTS:

A. Source:

Participants are located on the Pine Ridge Reservation and surrounding area. Church of the Brethren Kyle, South Dakota workcamp participants.

B. Number: (provide a brief rationale for your sample size)

Research subjects are defined in three groups. Each group is ideally between 3-5 individuals. Size must be manageable as transcripts must be made of each interview with subsequent coding and interpretation. Allotted time for research and distance between research subjects and investigator is a limiting factor in the proposed study.

C. Inclusion criteria: (List any unique qualifiers desirable for research subject participation)

Individuals identifying as part of the Oglala Lakota Native American community. A second group includes individuals with a background which suggests knowledge and interest in the Oglala Lakota Native American community. The third group, is more subjective and requires participants to be familiar with but possibly not engaged with the Oglala Lakota Native American community.

D. Exclusion criteria: (list any unique disqualifiers for research subject participation)

Participants will not be considered if they are younger than 18, due to the nature of consent form. Excluding individuals which are younger also aims at procuring narratives of those with longer experience in the community and are subsequently older.

E. Recruitment procedures:

How will subjects be identified?

Researcher has previous knowledge and contacts in the Kyle, South Dakota community on the Pine Ridge Reservation. One main Oglala Lakota (tribal members) will be aiding in identifying subjects given his established position in the community and knowledge of the project.

How will subjects be recruited (advertisement, associates, etc.)?

Regarding Oglala Lakota research participants, subjects will be recruited through building relationships and trust, in person, on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Other contacts are individuals over 18 which have previously volunteered in some fashion on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

How will subjects be enrolled?

Subjects will be enrolled by agreement and signing the consent form.

Describe any follow-up recruitment procedures: (reminder emails, mailings, etc.)

N/A

VII. RISK - PROTECTION - BENEFITS: The answers for the three questions below are central to human subjects research. You must demonstrate a reasonable balance between anticipated risks to research participants, protection strategies, and anticipated benefits to participants or others.

- A. Risk for Subjects:** (check all that apply)
- ☐ Exposure to infectious diseases
 - ☐ Use of confidential records
 - ☐ Exposure to radiation
 - ☐ Manipulation of psychological or social variables such as sensory deprivation, social isolation, psychological stressors
 - ☐ Examining for personal or sensitive information in surveys or interviews
 - ☐ Presentation of materials which subjects might consider sensitive, offensive, threatening, or degrading
 - ☐ Invasion of privacy of subject or family
 - ☐ Social or economic risk
 - ☐ Risk associated with exercise or physical exertion
 - ☐ Legal risk
 - ☐ Review of medical records
 - ☐ Review of criminal records
 - ☐ HIV/AIDS or other STD's
 - ☐ Employment/occupational risk

☒ **Others – Please explain below (Indirect risks, risk to individuals who are not the primary subjects):**

The study is not specifically geared towards individuals that might have an economic disadvantage or identify as a minority. But it is important for the researcher to recognize that the Pine Ridge Reservation is comprised of many of the poorest counties in the United States and inhabited by the Oglala Lakota Native Americans- people of which would have minority status in the United States.

- B. Minimizing Risk:** (Describe specific measures used to minimize or protect subjects from anticipated risks.)
- Due to potential inclement or extremely cold winter weather it is very important to make the participants on the Pine Ridge Reservation comfortable. Individuals will be interviewed where they feel comfortable and safe- either in their home, in a vehicle, or the local cafe in Kyle, South Dakota. While discussing the consent form, the researcher conducting the interviews will ask where the participant will be most comfortable conducting the interview.
- C. Benefits:** (Describe any reasonably expected benefits for research participants, a class of participants, or to society as a whole.)
- Producing narratives regarding Wounded Knee may bring forth greater understanding of the Lakota culture and give opportunity for reflection in a way that might serve to better inform self-knowledge and self-awareness. In the production of my final product of commemorative landscape design, the benefit and goal of the study is to generate cross-cultural understanding, build empathy and potentially create space for reconciliation.
- D. More than Minimal Risk?** In your opinion, does the research involve more than minimal risk to subjects? ("Minimal risk" means that "the risks of harm anticipated in the proposed research are not greater, considering probability and magnitude, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.")
- ☐ Yes ☒ No

VIII. CONFIDENTIALITY: Confidentiality is the formal treatment of information that an individual has disclosed to you in a relationship of trust and with the expectation that it will not be divulged to others without permission in ways that are inconsistent with the understanding of the original disclosure. Consequently, it is your responsibility to protect information that you gather from human research subjects in a way that is consistent with your agreement with the volunteer and with their expectations.

Explain how you are going to protect confidentiality of research subjects and/or data or records. Include plans for maintaining records after completion.

The records of this study will be kept private. As the findings will be publicly available, we will not associate names with the specific narratives nor include any information that will make it possible to identify you. The audio of the interviews will be destroyed once the tapes have been transcribed. The researchers anticipate removal of the audio 6 months after recording- at the end of the study, once interviews have been transcribed. Prior to the end of the study, research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researchers will have access to the records. The consent form signed and kept with the researchers will be held for 5 years subsequent to the completion of the study- held until May of 2021 and then destroyed.

IX. INFORMED CONSENT: Informed consent is a critical component of human subjects research - it is your responsibility to make sure that any potential subject knows exactly what the project that you are planning is about, and what his/her potential role is. (There may be projects where some forms of "deception" of the subject is necessary for the execution of the study, but it must be carefully justified to and approved by the IRB). A schematic for determining when a waiver or alteration of informed consent may be considered by the IRB is found at <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/policy/checklists/decisioncharts.html#c10>

Even if your proposed activity does qualify for a waiver of informed consent, you must still provide potential participants with basic information that informs them of their rights as subjects, i.e. explanation that the project is research and the purpose of the research, length of study, study procedures, debriefing issues to include anticipated benefits, study and administrative contact information, confidentiality strategy, and the fact that participation is entirely voluntary and can be terminated at any time without penalty, etc. Even if your potential subjects are completely anonymous, you are obliged to provide them (and the IRB) with basic information about your project. See informed consent example on the URCCO website. It is a federal requirement to maintain informed consent forms for 3 years after the study completion.

Answer the following questions about the informed consent procedures.

- ☒ Yes ☐ No **A.** Are you using a written informed consent form? If "yes," include a copy with this application. If "no" see B.

- ☐ Yes ☒ No B. In accordance with guidance in 45 CFR 46, I am requesting a waiver or alteration of informed consent elements (see section VIII above). If "yes," provide a basis and/or justification for your request.
- ☐ Yes ☒ No C. Are you using the online Consent Form Template provided by the URCCO? If "no," does your Informed Consent document have all the minimum required elements of informed consent found in the Consent Form Template? (Please explain)
- The consent form we created has all the required elements found in the Consent Form Template. We believe our wording is more acceptable to the population with which we're working.
- ☐ Yes ☒ No D. Are your research subjects anonymous? If they are anonymous, you will not have access to any information that will allow you to determine the identity of the research subjects in your study, or to link research data to a specific individual in any way. Anonymity is a powerful protection for potential research subjects. (An anonymous subject is one whose identity is unknown even to the researcher, or the data or information collected cannot be linked in any way to a specific person).

- ☒ Yes ☐ No E. Are subjects debriefed about the purposes, consequences, and benefits of the research? Debriefing refers to a mechanism for informing the research subjects of the results or conclusions, after the data is collected and analyzed, and the study is over. (If "no" explain why.) **Copy of debriefing statement to be utilized should be submitted to comply@k-state.edu with your application.**

F. Describe the Informed Consent Process:

Who is obtaining the consent? (i.e. Principle Investigator, Graduate Student, etc.)
Graduate student conducting the interviews will obtain the informed consent forms.

When and where will consent be obtained?

Informed Consent forms will be collected in person, prior to the interviews, when interviews take place in person. Consent forms will be emailed to the participants which will be phoned/skyped/facimed prior to those specific interviews.

If assent (for minors) is required, please describe who will obtain the assent? (Assent means a child's affirmative agreement to participate in research)

N/A

If assent (for minors) is required, when and where will assent be obtained?

N/A

How will consent be obtained from non-English speaking participants? (a translated written form, orally, identify the name and qualifications of the individual providing the translation)
Participants will be English-speaking, though their native language may be Lakota.

Informed Consent Checklist

Items	YES	NO	N/A
Does the title appear at the top of the consent/assent form?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is the consent/assent form written toward the subject?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there a statement that explains that the study is research?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is there a statement that explains the purpose of the research?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are the procedures to be followed explained clearly and adequately?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does the consent document describe risks or discomforts to subjects as a result of participating in the research?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is the consent/assent form written in the native language of the potential subject?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are participants compensated?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If the subjects' identity is known to the PI, does the form detail how confidentiality of records will be maintained?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is contact information for both the PI and the URCCO/IRB office included?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Does the consent document indicate to the participant that he/she can withdraw at any time from the project without penalty or loss of benefit?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are there probable circumstances which would require the PI to terminate a subject's participation regardless of his or her consent?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is the consent document written in lay language (Recommended 8th grade level)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- X. **PROJECT INFORMATION:** (If you answer Yes to any of the questions below, you should explain them in one of the paragraphs above)

- ☐ Yes ☒ No A. Deception of subjects? If "YES" explain why this is necessary.
- ☐ Yes ☒ No B. Shock or other forms of punishment
- ☐ Yes ☒ No C. Sexually explicit materials or questions about sexual orientation, sexual experience or sexual abuse
- ☐ Yes ☒ No D. Handling of money or other valuable commodities
- ☐ Yes ☒ No E. Extraction or use of blood, other bodily fluids, or tissues (if "yes," you must comply with facility and handling protections detailed in the 5th Edition of the Biosafety in Biomedical Laboratories (BMBL))
- ☐ Yes ☒ No F. Questions about any kind of illegal or illicit activity
- ☐ Yes ☒ No G. Questions about protected health information as defined by HIPAA
- ☐ Yes ☒ No H. Purposeful creation of anxiety
- ☐ Yes ☒ No I. Any procedure that might be viewed as invasion of privacy
- ☐ Yes ☒ No J. Physical exercise or stress
- ☐ Yes ☒ No K. Administration of substances (food, drugs, etc.) to subjects
- ☐ Yes ☒ No L. Any procedure that might place subjects at risk
- ☐ Yes ☒ No M. Will there be any use of Radioactive materials and/or use of Radioactive producing machines
- ☐ Yes ☒ No N. Any form of potential abuse, i.e., psychological, physical, sexual
- ☐ Yes ☒ No O. Is there potential for the data from this project to be published in a journal, presented at a conference, etc?
- ☒ Yes ☐ No P. Use of surveys or questionnaires for data collection. **Copies should be submitted to comply@k-state.edu with your application.**

XI. SUBJECT INFORMATION: (If you answer yes to any of the questions below, you should explain them in one of the paragraphs above)

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	a.	Under 18 years of age (these subjects require parental or guardian consent)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	b.	Over 65 years of age
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	c.	Minorities
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	d.	Physically or mentally disabled
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	e.	Economically or educationally disadvantaged
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	f.	Unable to provide their own legal informed consent
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	g.	Pregnant females as target population
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	h.	Victims
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	i.	Subjects in institutions (e.g., prisons, nursing homes, halfway houses)
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	j.	Are subjects likely to be vulnerable to coercion or undue influence
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	k.	Is this international research? If yes, provide details as to if OHRP regulations apply in or near the area you intend to conduct research or if you have contacted individuals for applicable regulations to human subject research.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	l.	Are research subjects in this activity students recruited from university classes or volunteer pools? If so, do you have a reasonable alternative(s) to participation as a research subject in your project, i.e., another activity such as writing or reading that would serve to protect students from unfair pressure or coercion to participate in this project? If you answered this question "Yes," explain any alternatives options for class credit for potential human subject volunteers in your study. (It is also important to remember that Students must be free to choose not to participate in research that they have signed up for at any time without penalty. Communication of their decision can be conveyed in any manner, to include simply not showing up for the research.)
N/A			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	m.	Is audio from the subjects recorded? If yes, how do you plan to protect the recorded information and mitigate any additional risks?
The records of this study will be kept private. As the findings will be publicly available, we will not associate names with the specific narratives nor include any information that will make it possible to identify you. The audio of the interviews will be destroyed once the tapes have been transcribed. The researchers anticipate removal of the audio 6 months after recording; at the end of the study, once interviews have been transcribed. Prior to the end of the study, research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researchers will have access to the records.			
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	n.	Are research subjects' images being recorded (video taped, digitally recorded, photographed)? If yes, how do you plan to protect the recorded information and mitigate any additional risks?
N/A			

XII. FDA ACTIVITIES: Answer the following questions about potential FDA regulated activities:

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	a.	Is this a Clinical Trial?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	b.	Are you using an FDA approved drug/device/diagnostic test?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	c.	Does this activity involve the use of FDA-Regulated products? (biological products, color additives, food additives, human drugs, etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	d.	Has the protocol been submitted to the FDA, or are there plans to submit it to the FDA?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	e.	Have you submitted an FDA form 3454 or 3455 (conflict of interest)?

XIII. CONFLICT OF INTEREST: Concerns have been growing that financial interests in research may threaten the safety and rights of human research subjects. Financial interests are not in themselves prohibited and may well be appropriate and legitimate. Not all financial interests cause Conflict of Interest (COI) or harm to human subjects. However, to the extent that financial interests may affect the welfare of human subjects in research, IRB's, institutions, and investigators must consider what actions regarding financial interests may be necessary to protect human subjects. Please answer the following questions:

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	a.	Do you or the institution have any proprietary interest in a potential product of this research, including patents, trademarks, copyrights, or licensing agreements?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	b.	Do you have an equity interest in the research sponsor (publicly held or a non-publicly held company)?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	c.	Do you receive significant payments of other sorts, e.g., grants, equipment, retainers for consultation and/or honoraria from the sponsor of this research?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	d.	Do you receive payment per participant or incentive payments?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	e.	If you answered yes to any of the above questions, please provide adequate explanatory information so the IRB can assess any potential COI indicated above.

XIV. PROJECT COLLABORATORS:**A. KSU Collaborators:** List anyone affiliated with KSU who is collecting or analyzing data: (list all collaborators on the project, including co-principal investigators, undergraduate and graduate students).

Name:	Department:	Campus Phone:	Campus E-mail:
Assistant Professor Anne Beamish	Landscape Architecture and Regional & Community Planning	785-532-3852	abeamish@k-state.edu
Associate Professor Jessica Marie Falcone, PhD	Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work	785-532-4979	jfalcone@ksu.edu
Add Row		Delete Row	

B. Non-KSU Collaborators: List all collaborators on your human subjects research project not affiliated with KSU in the spaces below. KSU has negotiated an Assurance with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP), the federal office responsible for oversight of research involving human subjects.

Name:	Organization:	Phone:	Institutional E-mail:
Add Row		Delete Row	

C. Does your non-KSU collaborator's organization have an Assurance with OHRP? (for Federalwide Assurance listings of other institutions, please reference the OHRP website under Assurance Information at: <http://ohrp.cit.nih.gov/search>)

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, Collaborator's FWA # _____

Is your non-KSU collaborator's IRB reviewing this proposal?

☐ Yes ☐ No If yes, IRB approval # _____

XV. IRB Training:

- A. The URCO must have a copy of the Unaffiliated Investigator Agreement on file for each non-KSU collaborator who is not covered by their own IRB and assurance with OHRP. When research involving human subjects includes collaborators who are not employees or agents of KSU the activities of those unaffiliated individuals may be covered under the KSU Assurance only in accordance with a formal, written agreement of commitment to relevant human subject protection policies and IRB oversight. The Unaffiliated Investigators Agreement can be found and downloaded at <http://www.k-state.edu/research/comply/irb/forms>

Online Training

TRAINING REQUIREMENTS HAVE RECENTLY CHANGED

The IRB has mandatory training requirements prior to protocol approval. Training is now offered through the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) Program. Instructions for registration and access to training are on the URCO website <http://www.k-state.edu/research/comply/>.

Use the check boxes below to select the training courses that apply to this application. If you have any questions about training, contact URCO at comply@ksu.edu, or (785) 532-3224.

Mandatory Training

Required for all Principal Investigators, research staff and students

- ☒ Responsible Conduct of Research
☒ IRB core modules

Required (Provost-mandated) for all full-time K-State employees

- ☐ Export Compliance

Required procedure-specific training (check all that apply to this protocol):

- ☐ Students in Research (check if students are listed as personnel on this protocol) ☐ International Research
☐ Research in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools ☐ Research with Children ☐ Research with Prisoners
☐ Internet Research ☐ Vulnerable Subjects - Research Involving Workers/Employees
☐ Research with Subjects with Physical Disabilities and Impairments ☐ Illegal Activities or Undocumented Status in Human Research
☐ Gender and Sexuality Diversity in Human Research ☐ Research with human blood, body fluids, or tissues
☒ Research with Older Adults

All new personnel or personnel with expired training are required to register for CITI and take the new training requirements. If you previously completed online IRB modules, your training status will remain current until it expires. URCO will verify training from the previous system as well as the new system prior to approval of any protocol.

INVESTIGATOR ASSURANCE FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

(Print this page separately because it requires a signature by the PI.)

PI Name: _____

Title of Project: _____

XVI. ASSURANCES: As the Principal Investigator on this protocol, I provide assurances for the following:

- A. **Research Involving Human Subjects:** This project will be performed in the manner described in this proposal, and in accordance with the Federabwide Assurance FWA00000065 approved for Kansas State University available at <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/assurances/forms/fbasurt.html>, applicable laws, regulations, and guidelines. Any proposed deviation or modification from the procedures detailed herein must be submitted to the IRB, and be approved by the Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (IRB) prior to implementation.
- B. **Training:** I assure that all personnel working with human subjects described in this protocol are technically competent for the role described for them, and have completed the required IRB training accessed via the URCO website at: <http://www.k-state.edu/research/comply/irb/training>. I understand that no proposals will receive final IRB approval until the URCO has documentation of completion of training by all appropriate personnel.
- C. **Extramural Funding:** If funded by an extramural source, I assure that this application accurately reflects all procedures involving human subjects as described in the grant/contract proposal to the funding agency. I also assure that I will notify the IRB/URCO, the KSU PreAward Services, and the funding/contract entity if there are modifications or changes made to the protocol after the initial submission to the funding agency.
- D. **Study Duration:** I understand that it is the responsibility of the Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (IRB) to perform continuing reviews of human subjects research as necessary. I also understand that as continuing reviews are conducted, it is my responsibility to provide timely and accurate review or update information when requested, to include notification of the IRB/URCO when my study is changed or completed.
- E. **Conflict of Interest:** I assure that I have accurately described (in this application) any potential Conflict of Interest that my collaborators, the University, or I may have in association with this proposed research activity.
- F. **Adverse Event Reporting:** I assure that I will promptly report to the IRB / URCO any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others that involve the protocol as approved. Unanticipated or Adverse Event Form is located on the URCO website at: <http://www.k-state.edu/research/comply/irb/forms>. In the case of a serious event, the Unanticipated or Adverse Events Form may follow a phone call or email contact with the URCO.
- G. **Accuracy:** I assure that the information herein provided to the Committee for Human Subjects Research is to the best of my knowledge complete and accurate.

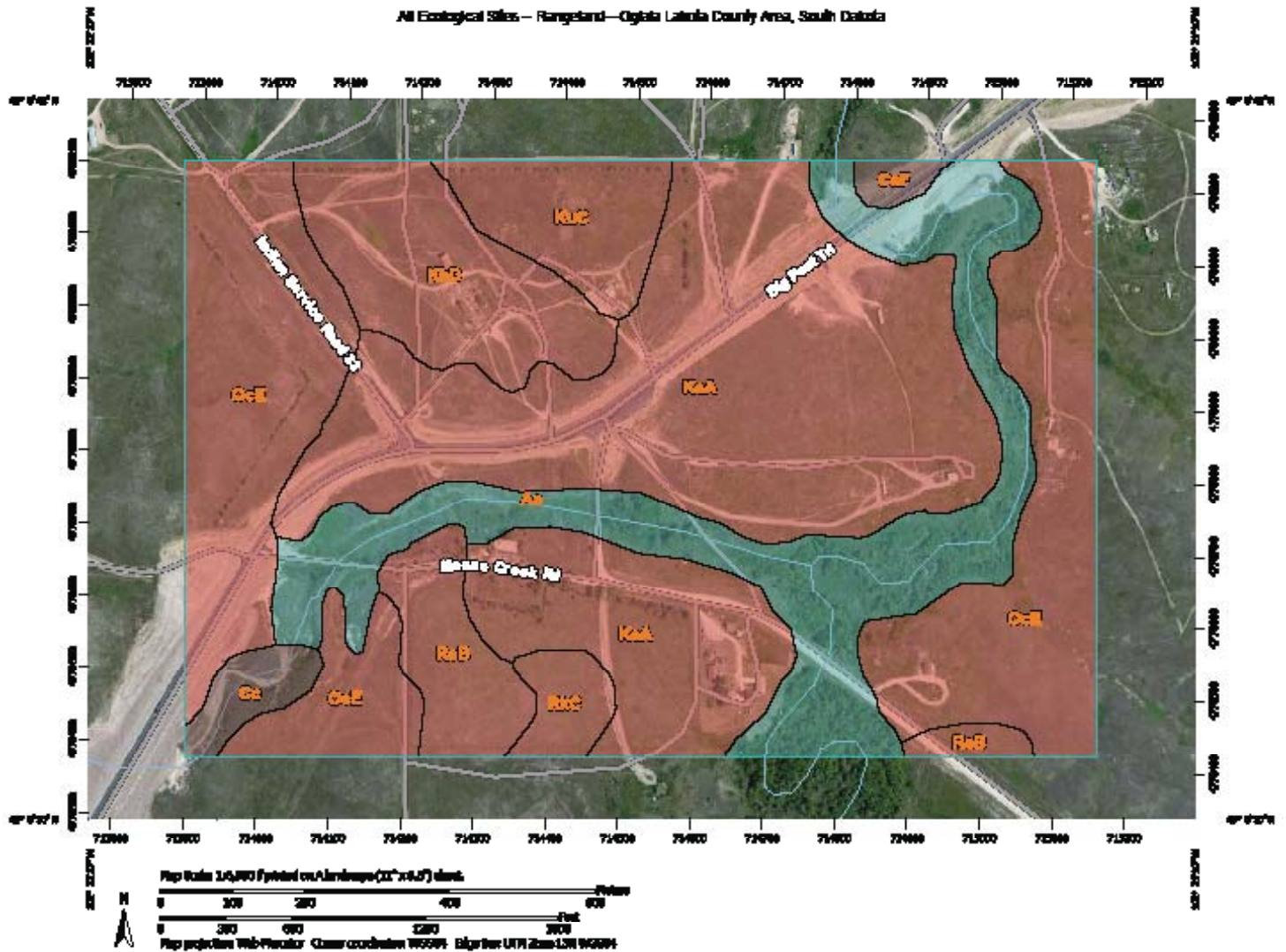
(Principal Investigator Signature)

(Date)

Appendix B

Soil Survey

All Ecological Sites - Rangeland—Oglala Lakota County Area, South Dakota



National Resources
Conservation Service

Web Soil Survey
National Cooperative Soil Survey

4/16/2016
Page 1 of 5

All Ecological Sites — Rangeland

Oglala Lakota County Area, South Dakota					
Map unit symbol	Map unit name	Component name (percent)	Ecological site	Acres in AOI	Percent of AOI
Aa	Lohriller silt clay loam, channeled, 0 to 2 percent slopes	Lohriller, channeled (85%)	RD60KY023NE — Loamy Overflow	42.7	16.6%
		Headcamp (10%)	RD60KY023NE — Wet Land		
		Haverson (5%)	RD60KY023NE — Loamy Terrace		
CaF	Canyon-Oglala loams, 16 to 40 percent slopes	Canyon (50%)	RD60KY043NE — Shallow	1.6	0.6%
		Oglala (30%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Colby (5%)	RD60KY037NE — Thin Upland		
		Rock outcrop, Sandstone (5%)	RD60KY033NE — Non-site		
		Thirtynine (5%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Ulysses (5%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
Cc	Canyon-Rock outcrop assemblage, 16 to 40 percent slopes	Canyon (55%)	RD60KY043NE — Shallow	3.9	1.5%
		Rock outcrop, Sandstone (25%)	RD60KY033NE — Non-site		
		Colby (5%)	RD60KY037NE — Thin Upland		
		Oglala (5%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Rosebud (4%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Ulysses (4%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Craft (2%)	RD60KY023NE — Loamy Overflow		
KbA	Keith silt loam, 0 to 3 percent slopes	Keith (90%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.	93.6	36.3%
		Dunes (3%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Richfield (3%)	RD60KY033NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Goshen (2%)	RD60KY023NE — Loamy Overflow		

Oglala Lakota County Area, South Dakota					
Map unit symbol	Map unit name	Component name (percent)	Ecological site	Acres in AOI	Percent of AOI
		Lodgepole, frequently ponded (2%)	RD64KYD27NE — Clayey Overflow		
RND	Keith-Culby all loams, 9 to 12 percent slopes	Keith (55%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.	19.9	7.7%
		Culby (30%)	RD64KYD37NE — Thin Upland		
		Ulysses (4%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Epping (3%)	RD64KYD40NE — Shallow		
		Kadoka (3%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Oglala (3%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Goshen (2%)	RD64KYD26NE — Loamy Overflow		
RUC	Keith-Ulysses all loams, 3 to 9 percent slopes	Keith (45%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.	11.1	4.3%
		Ulysses (40%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Culby (4%)	RD64KYD37NE — Thin Upland		
		Rosebud (4%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Epping (3%)	RD64KYD40NE — Shallow		
		Goshen (2%)	RD64KYD26NE — Loamy Overflow		
		Kadoka (2%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
OrE	Oglala-Canyon loams, 9 to 25 percent slopes	Oglala (55%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.	68.6	27.0%
		Canyon (30%)	RD64KYD40NE — Shallow		
		Culby (4%)	RD64KYD37NE — Thin Upland		
		Rosebud (4%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Ulysses (4%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
		Bridget (3%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.		
ReB	Rosebud-Canyon loams, 5 to 9 percent slopes	Rosebud (50%)	RD64KYD36NE — Loamy 17-20 P.Z.	11.4	4.4%
		Canyon (35%)	RD64KYD40NE — Shallow		

Oglala Lakota County Area, South Dakota					
Map unit symbol	Map unit name	Component name (percent)	Ecological site	Acres in AOI	Percent of AOI
		Colby (3%)	RD64KYD37NE — Thin Upland		
		Kellin (3%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
		Midbridge (3%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
		Oglala (3%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
		Ulysses (2%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
		Hoven (1%)	RD64AYD19SD — Closed Depression		
RDC	Rosebud-Kellin silt loams, 3 to 9 percent slopes	Rosebud (50%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.	4.1	1.6%
		Kellin (30%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
		Canyon (5%)	RD64KYD40NE — Shallow		
		Midbridge (5%)	RD64KYD38NE — Loamy T7-20 P.Z.		
Totals for Area of Interest				257.9	100.0%

Appendix C

Historic Register Excerpts

NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-88)

CMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

2009

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 18). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name N/A

other names / site number Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark

2. Location

street & number N/A N/A: [] not for publication

city, town Wounded Knee [x] vicinity

state South Dakota code SD county Shannon code 113 zip code 57794

3. Classification

Ownership of Property

[] private

[x] public-local

[] public-State

[x] public-Federal

Category of Property

[] building(s)

[] district

[x] site

[] structure

[] object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

Noncontributing

12 buildings

12 sites

1 structures

2 objects

24 Total

Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this [] nomination [] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [] meets [] does not meet the National Register criteria. [] See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official

Date

Signature of Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [] meets [] does not meet the National Register criteria. [] See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

Signature of Federal agency and bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

[] entered in the National Register.

[] See continuation sheet.

[] determined eligible for the National Register.

[] See continuation sheet.

[] determined not eligible for the National Register.

[] removed from the National Register.

[] other, (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper

Date

08 | 202

10/7 2 5 1992

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Defense / battle site
Funerary / cemetery
Religion / religious structure
Domestic / camp

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Domestic / single dwelling
Social / meeting hall
Religion / religious structure
SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation N/A
walls N/A
roof N/A
other N/A

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Item 7

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark, commonly known as the Wounded Knee Massacre Site, is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. It was here that forces of the U.S. Army's Seventh Cavalry and followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot participated in the bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891. The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has undergone alteration and intrusions since 1890. A few modern buildings, building sites, and roads constitute the majority of intrusions. However, the important natural features which played a key role in the historical events that transpired at this landmark retain their historical integrity. These features are readily apparent and easily distinguishable. Those with the clearest historical importance and highest visibility are burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. Burial hill was the location of the Army's artillery during the massacre and then of the mass grave of many of the Minneconjou fatalities. While many Minneconjous died in the dry ravine, others were able to make their escape through this route. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name and also formed a natural eastern boundary for the events that occurred.

Natural Setting

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands in the southwestern portion of South Dakota. Deep, steep-sided ravines caused by water erosion have cut between most of hills, adding noticeably to the ruggedness of the area. Small perennial streams, such as Wounded Knee Creek are found at wide intervals. The streams meander northward to the White River through narrow valleys.

Native short prairie grasses cover most of the area. Trees, primarily pine, are found along the perennial streams and are also thinly scattered among the hills. Cultivation has been attempted on some of the more level ground although most of the area remains as rangeland for cattle and horses.

[✓] See continuation sheet

NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

10/7 2 5 1992

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 7 Page 2

Within the boundaries of the Landmark is a section of the Wounded Knee Creek valley and the adjoining uplands. The Creek crowds the eastern side of the valley creating a nearly level terrace 1,000 to 2,000 feet wide between the Creek and the base of the uplands. A gradual ascent from the valley floor leads to the uplands approximately 80 feet above. Eroded spurs of the uplands which jut into the valley resemble small hills. Beyond the site boundaries, the uplands may be 200 or more feet above the valley floor.

The site is cut by a dry ravine running east to west. Near Wounded Knee Creek, the ravine is approximately 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep with nearly vertical sides. As the ravine extends west, the gulch becomes narrower and deeper as it cuts into the uplands. The ravine divides into smaller narrow branches that rise to a ridge which forms the western boundary of the landmark.

Historic Appearance

The community of Wounded Knee in 1890 included a post office which was housed in Louis Mousseau's general store. Mousseau's residence and those of Red Bear, Eagle Bull, Plenty Bear, Six Feathers, and Fire Lighting were located nearby.¹ The first massacre accounts were written in one of these structures, and after the Army left some of the wounded Indians found shelter in the houses.² The remaining structures in the community consisted of an Omaha dance lodge, a school, a Presbyterian church, and at least six additional houses, unrelated to the history of the Landmark and located outside the boundaries.³ None of these structures have survived.

Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist with the Nebraska Historical Society, conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of Wounded Knee in October 17-19, 1989. During the course of reconnaissance, square nails and salt-glazed pottery were found in the northeast corner of the landmark, suggesting the possible location of the historic structures that comprised the community of Wounded Knee. A shallow depression about 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep was also identified. This feature closely corresponds to the location of the Mousseau residence as described in historic maps and contemporaneous photographs. This kind of feature can result from a partially filled basement. Mousseau noted that his house had a cellar.⁴ However, the feature has not been archaeologically tested. During the reconnaissance, a local Lakota informant Pat Rowland identified a general area approximately 1000 feet southwest of the burial hill where, according to local tradition, some of the horses killed during the battle

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were buried. Metal harness parts were said to have been found in this vicinity.⁵ Archaeological investigations will be needed to confirm this oral account.

Major Samuel M. Whitside selected the community of Wounded Knee for his camp on December 26, 1890 for several reasons. It was a known point on the road from the Pine Ridge Agency, and Whitside believed it was near his objective, the elusive Big Foot band. The nearby Creek provided water for his men and animals as well as fuel for cooking. Major Whitside commanded Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and was accompanied by a platoon of the First Artillery. Two days later Whitside was joined by Colonel James W. Forsyth who established a camp to the northwest.⁶ Forsyth was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry and had with him Troops C, D, E, and G. A troop of Oglala scouts and another platoon of the First Artillery also accompanied Forsyth. Big Foot's people camped to the south of the soldiers along the north edge of the ravine.

In 1890 barbed wire fences enclosed three small areas which may have been used for gardens or stock corrals. Although no evidence of them survives, two of the enclosures were important features during the massacre. The western most enclosure partially barred the escape route used by some of the women and children. The escapees were funneled northward between the northeast corner of the enclosure and the right flank of Troop E.⁷ When the fighting began Lieutenant Thomas Q. Donaldson and his men of Troop C retreated behind the fenced area of the southernmost enclosure.⁸ (See Sketch Map A and Cloman Map A.)

Contemporary maps indicate several roads crossing the Landmark but nearly all vestiges of them have disappeared. Just north of the cellar depression is a road cut leading across Wounded Knee Creek. Because of its location it is possible, even probable, that this was in use in 1890.

South and a short distance east of the burial hill there is evidence of a crossing over the ravine. It is too far west to match the crossing shown on the map drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer of the Division of the Missouri in 1891, but is in the vicinity of a crossing shown on a version of the same map published six years later in James Mooney's monograph on the Ghost Dance.⁹

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In May 1903 some of the Indian survivors returned to the site to dedicate a monument commemorating the massacre.¹⁰ This granite shaft, more than six feet in height, was placed at the side of the mass grave. The monument is inscribed with the names of many of the fatalities and is a contributing object in this nomination due to its symbolic and spiritual values.

Present Condition and Intrusions

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has experienced several physical alterations and intrusions since December 29, 1890. The natural features, however, have not been seriously compromised by the alterations. The natural features and the existing historical documentation for the site possess considerable power to illustrate the movements of the principals during the course of the day. Three natural features played key roles in the events that transpired on December 29th: the burial hill, the dry ravine, and wounded Knee Creek. These features have the clearest and most direct associations to the historical event. The burial hill was the location of the Army's artillery during the engagement and, afterwards, of the mass grave. The dry ravine served as the major escape route for the Indians. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name. It serves as a natural eastern boundary in which the temporary camps and the day's events occurred.

The physical integrity of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark compares favorably to cultural resources where similar activities occurred, e.g. battlefields, councils, and campsites. The Cloman Map can be overlaid on the existing terrain to demonstrate the site's continuing integrity. Maps drawn by eyewitnesses also attest to the site's integrity. Each map possesses a high degree of internal consistency. (See attached maps by McFarland, Allen, Wells, and Horn Cloud.) In addition, the historic photographs of the battlefield taken on January 3 and 4, 1891, can be easily matched to present topographical features. Based on these comparisons, Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark retains integrity of setting, feeling, and appearance. The Landmark's integrity of location and association remains clear to both the local inhabitants as well as the general public.

In recent years there have been some intrusions on the Landmark. Fortunately, the intrusions have not obscured or seriously damaged the natural features which were important to the historical events that occurred at the site. The macadam highways with deep and wide ditches on either side

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are the most obvious features. The roadways parallel or in part overlay the major trails of 1890. The current unimproved trails are less noticeable and would be quickly reclaimed by prairie grasses if left unused. Two electric power lines cross the site but are relatively unobtrusive.

A Catholic cemetery around the mass grave was established early in the 20th century and continues in use at this time. It is enclosed by a chain link fence with the entrance flanked by brick columns.

Modern buildings and building sites constitute the major intrusions. The structures and sites are relatively small in size and are widely spaced which diminish their impact upon the Landmark.

Period of National Significance

The massacre or battle of Wounded Knee erupted during the morning of December 29, 1890, at approximately 9:15 A.M. The most intense fighting occurred within the first 30 minutes. This was followed by what the commanding officer, Colonel James W. Forsyth, called "skirmish firing" for about one hour.¹¹ Accounts from eyewitnesses indicate that sporadic gun fire continued for a somewhat longer period, perhaps until early afternoon.¹² It was nearly 5:00 P.M. before the wounded were evacuated and the troops and many of the surviving Indians left for the Pine Ridge Agency.¹³

Although the significance of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark focuses upon this encounter, related events occurred before and after the event that expand the time frame. On December 26, 1890, Major Samuel M. Whiteside received an order to leave the Pine Ridge Agency to go in search of Big Foot. Whiteside left the Agency with Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and arrived at the Wounded Knee post office at approximately 5:00 P.M. on December 26 and immediately set up camp. This establishment of Whiteside's camp marks the beginning of the period of significance of the National Historic Landmark.¹⁴

On December 27 troops were dispatched from the camp to search for Big Foot and his followers, but the group was not immediately located. The band was found on December 28 eight to ten miles to the northeast of the camp on the Porcupine Creek. The party was escorted to Wounded Knee at about 2:00 P.M. After locating the band, Whiteside sent to the Agency for reinforcements.¹⁵ The second battalion of the Seventh Cavalry under the

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command of Colonel James W. Forsyth arrived at approximately 8:30 P.M. and proceeded to establish a camp a few yards northwest of Whiteside's location.¹⁶

Although the Army left during the afternoon of December 29, the site continued to be occupied by Indians.¹⁷ A severe blizzard hit the area early on December 31 paralyzing the region for twenty-four hours.¹⁸ A rescue party of Indians travelled to Wounded Knee from the Pine Ridge Agency on January 1, 1891 and found eleven wounded Indian survivors.¹⁹

A burial party of 30 civilians with military escort assembled on the morning of January 3 to inter the Indian dead. The departure of the burial party the following afternoon of January 4, marks the end of the period of significance.²⁰

While not forgotten, the mass grave where 146 men, women, and children were buried was left unmarked for more than a decade.²¹ On May 28, 1903 the Indian survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre dedicated a granite monument at the grave site. The monument was purchased from Kinsball Brothers of Lincoln, Nebraska. During the dedication ceremony the Reverend W.J. Cleveland delivered a sermon followed by short speeches by Joseph Horn Cloud and Fire Lighting.²² The historic monument is an integral component of the site and has acquired exceptional cultural and spiritual significance to the Sioux.

The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark boundary contains approximately 870 acres encompassing the site and all related significant natural and manmade resources.

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
[✓] nationally [] statewide [] locally

Applicable National Register Criteria [✓] A [] B [] C [✓] D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) [] A [] B [] C [] D [] E [] F [] G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from Instructions)

Ethnic Heritage / Native American

Military

Period of Significance

1890-1891

1903

Significant Dates

1890

1891

1903

Cultural Affiliation

Lakota

Significant Person

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas & periods of significance noted above.

8. Significance

On December 29, 1890, the last major violent encounter between American Indians and Whites occurred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The event has been entitled the "Wounded Knee Massacre" or "Battle of Wounded Knee", depending on the historical perspective of the writer. The titles reflect two distinct interpretations of the military engagement where forces of the United States Army, Seventh Cavalry, and the followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot, participated in the tragic and bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91.

This was a desperate time of defiance and disillusionment for the Indian tribes. New laws and the recently departed commissions had succeeded in divesting the Lakota of huge tracts of land. The Lakota tribe, as well as many other tribes who were confined to reservations across the West, had turned to the Ghost Dance religion as a way to preserve their traditional way of life and regain control of their destiny. In terms of the significance to the Lakota, Wounded Knee shattered that dream, broke their sacred hoop of the world, and left its members resigned to reservation life and to the acceptance of government dictates.

To the United States military authorities, Wounded Knee ended the threat of an Indian outbreak in the sparsely settled areas of the Plains. The Sioux Campaign was perceived as the last Indian War of the United States, with Wounded Knee representing the last major confrontation. Wounded Knee, as no other event in this county's history, has become associated with the perceived end of the American frontier. Over four hundred years of cultural conflict in North America resulted in the loss of Indian independence.

[✓] See continuation sheet

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Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is a benchmark in the history of the Lakota Ghost Dance, the Sioux Campaign by the United States Army, and the Pine Ridge Reservation Troubles of 1890-91. The events which transpired on December 29, 1890, are intricately associated with all three of these historical developments. The period of significance for the site begins on December 26, 1890, when U.S. troops established a base camp at Wounded Knee, and extends through January 4, 1891, when the remaining dead were interred in a mass grave, inclusive of all events associated with the "Massacre/Battle of Wounded Knee." The period of significance also includes May 28, 1903, the date the Lakota tribe dedicated a monument to the dead at Wounded Knee.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is associated with an important event (National Historic Landmark Criterion #1), the "Wounded Knee Massacre," also known as the "Battle of Wounded Knee." Significant on a national level in the areas of Native American Ethnic Heritage and United States Military History, Wounded Knee is considered a pivotal point in the history of Indian-White relations. Historic archaeological investigations, especially the distribution patterns of bullets and shrapnel on the site, have the potential to yield important information about the events which transpired between December 26, 1890, and January 4, 1891, at Wounded Knee (NHL Criterion #6). Under the National Historic Landmark thematic framework Wounded Knee is important for its associations with the theme: X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763-1898; subtheme C. Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict; and facet 3. The Northern Plains. The site is also important for its anthropological association with theme: I. Indigenous American Populations; subtheme D. Ethnohistory; facet 5. Becoming Native American; and subfacet d. Native Responses to New Economic, Political and Territorial Arrangements.

Prominent and influential historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his frontier thesis in 1893 with a cutoff date of 1890 for the theoretical end of the American frontier. Turner based his argument on the United States Census of 1890 which had reported that a frontier line no longer existed in the American West. The acknowledged passing of this historic period of Euro-American settlement coincided with the year of Wounded Knee, seen at the time as the last Indian challenge to settlement. Therefore, the events at Wounded Knee have achieved meaning for both White and Indian cultures.

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The Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service held a public meeting at Wounded Knee on June 21, 1990, to discuss the draft NHL nomination. The meeting was attended by approximately 40 Native Americans representing various bands of the Lakota Sioux. Tribal elders felt that the contemporary Lakota perspective was not sufficiently contained within the draft nomination. They recommended that interviews be conducted with several elders who were descendants of survivors of the engagement at Wounded Knee. The National Park Service followed this recommendation and in July and August 1990 conducted four oral interviews with Leona Broken Nose, Celane Not Help Him, Leonard Little Finger, and Birgil Kills Straight. Although "Indian" versions of the engagement have been published, most notably, The Wounded Knee Massacre: From the Viewpoint of the Sioux and The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, these four transcribed interviews provide an important historical perspective and therefore have been included in this section of the nomination.¹

I. Historical Context

During the summer of 1889, the Lakota traditional way of life seemed to be disintegrating. On February 8, 1887, President Grover Cleveland signed the Dawes Severalty Act. Championed by Henry L. Dawes, Senator from Massachusetts and Chairman of the Senate Indian Committee, the Act attempted to quickly assimilate Indians into White society by instructing them in farming and the benefits of individualism and private property ownership. The Act provided for specific 160 acre allotments of land to heads of families with smaller allotments going to bachelors, women and children. "Surplus" reservation lands were then opened to general settlement. The Act, however, stipulated that a majority of the Indians on a reservation must first consent to the allotment plan.

The added pressures of prospective White settlement in the Dakotas quickly prompted Congress to negotiate for the majority consent of the Lakota. As a consequence, the Sioux Bill was passed by Congress on March 2, 1889. The Sioux Bill called for a division of the Lakota Reservation into smaller reservations, the distribution of allotments in severalty, and the cession of the surplus lands. A three-man commission was sent to secure the necessary signatures of three-fourths of all adult Lakota males for approval of this cession. The commission's key member was Major General George Crook, who had a long history of civil and military dealings with Indians. Over a period of months, Crook's use of promises, threats, bribes, and

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entreaties eventually secured the necessary signatures. The Lakota subsequently relinquished more than nine million acres of land.² Dispossessed of vast tracts of their reservation lands, implementation of the Dawes Act exerted immediate and disastrous consequences on Lakota culture. The allotment process seriously eroded the authority of tribal governments, destroyed traditional land tenure systems, and accelerated the spread of poverty among the tribe.

Upon the departure of the commissioners in late summer 1889, the Lakota were left dazed and confused. Almost before the ink was dry on this latest agreement, the Government reduced the appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Lakota experienced an immediate reduction in their rations. The commissioners had promised this would not happen. The Lakota believed they had been cheated. They saw the resulting sickness and hunger as very real threats to their well being. The reduction in rations coincided with a severe drought which blazed across the High Plains during the years 1889 and 1890. The harshness of reservation life and the failure of the Government to fulfill its obligations appeared to doom the Lakota to a life of despair and frustration.

Then a glimmer of hope appeared. Rumors circulated about a Messiah in the far west who had come to aid the Indians. The source of the rumors was a Paiute Indian shaman, Wovoka, or Jack Wilson, who lived near the Walker Lake Reservation in western Nevada. In January 1889, Wovoka had a great vision which was the genesis of a religious movement that would become known as the Ghost Dance. Wovoka was ignored by the White world for almost two years, but his message spread rapidly through the Indian world by word of mouth, letter, and finally by fact-finding committees, or delegations, sent to Nevada from distant tribes, including the Arapaho, Caddo, Cheyenne, Shoshone, and Ute.³

During the fall of 1889, a Lakota delegation of a half dozen men slipped away from the Pine Ridge Reservation to investigate the rumors of the Messiah. They returned with the news that the Son of God was truly on earth and that his coming was for the benefit of Indians, not Whites.⁴ The delegates, most noticeably Kicking Bear, would soon become some of the most visible leaders of the Ghost Dance.⁵ A second delegation returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation after a visit to Wovoka in March 1890 as confirmed disciples of Wovoka and began to preach the new religion. They were quickly ordered to desist by Pine Ridge Agent H. D. Gallagher.

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The Ghost Dance, as preached to new followers, offered a solution to the Lakota's most pressing problems. It prophesied the disappearance of the Whites. There would no longer be restrictions on the familiar Lakota religion and customs. The Indians would again be free to live as they chose. The teachings foretold the return of their dead ancestors, whose number would assure the Lakota of the manpower necessary to regain control of the bountiful land. Finally, the return of vast herds of buffalo would provide the necessary food and raw materials for the increased population. Of equal importance was the buffalo's key role in the Lakota's traditional mythology and religion. The disappearance of the animal had left a spiritual void which would be filled when the animals returned. The Lakota added familiar elements from their own religious rituals to the Ghost Dance. Thus, the Ghost Dance became intertwined with the Lakota's own evolving religion rather than remaining apart as a brief experiment with an exotic belief.⁹

The Lakota, and most other tribes who embraced the new religion, wore a special Ghost Dance costume. Ghost shirts and dresses were ritually prepared garments worn by adherents of the new religion. While many Plains tribes wore the shirts, only the Lakota believed the garments were bulletproof.¹⁰ Whites viewed this as evidence of the Lakota's warlike intentions choosing to ignore the primarily defensive character of a bulletproof garment. The Indians had no prophesied need for aggressive weapons since the Ghost Dance promised that the Whites would disappear through supernatural means rather than by military force. While many Whites were convinced that the Ghost Dancers were preparing for war, the dancers' primary concern was defending themselves from outside interference while continuing the ceremonies. In truth, the Ghost Dancers spent an inordinate amount of time retreating from situations with any potential for conflict.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, perceived the Ghost Dance as a threat to plans for the assimilation of the Sioux. Agents sought to ban all associations with the Ghost Dance on their Agencies.¹¹ Settlers added their voices to the growing concern. Convinced it was a prelude to war, those near the Lakota reservations demanded the suppression of the religion. Although the fear of an outbreak was unjustified, it grew to epidemic proportions after newspapers began publishing unverified stories about Indian "depredations."¹²

In 1890, two events compounded the increasingly unstable situation. A crop failure and an approximate twenty percent reduction in rations on the

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Pine Ridge Agency caused the Lakota to suffer. Hunger has often been cited as a major cause of the Ghost Dance. While privation certainly contributed to the spread of the religion, a more fundamental cause lay in the Lakota's desire to reclaim control of their destiny.¹⁰

During the summer and fall of 1890, the new religion spread across the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations. There are no reliable figures on the number of converts, but one observer estimated forty percent of the Indians on Pine Ridge favored the new movement, as did thirty percent on Rosebud.¹¹

In 1890 a South Dakota physician, Daniel F. Royer, was appointed the Agent for Pine Ridge Reservation. Arriving in late September, 1890, Royer's paramount goal was the suppression of the Ghost Dance. By the end of October, he was insisting that military intervention on the reservation was necessary not only to suppress the new religion, but to protect civilians from an outbreak of hostilities. Royer believed a war was inevitable.¹²

As more converts joined the Ghost Dance, Indian agents adamantly demanded that the religious observances be stopped. On several occasions the Sioux agents sent reservation police to halt the dances. Special Agent E. B. Reynolds summarized the situation when he wrote "that the matter is beyond the control of the police" and called for a "sufficient force of troops to prevent the outbreak which is imminent."¹³ On November 13, President Benjamin Harrison ordered Secretary of War Redfield Proctor to ready troops for the field. Based on field reports from both the War and Interior Departments, Harrison concluded that an outbreak at Pine Ridge Reservation was forthcoming and was advised that "it is not safe to longer withhold troops." The following day, General of the Army John M. Schofield told Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Division of the Missouri, to "take such action as, in [your] judgement, may be necessary in view of the existing situation."¹⁴

By November 18, 1890, the War Department had dispatched troops to begin the military occupation of the reservations. Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke, Commander of the Department of the Platte, and about 400 troops marched north from the railroad at Rushville, Nebraska, toward the Pine Ridge Agency, arriving there before daybreak on November 20. Brooke's orders from his superior, General Miles, were to protect the agency and to

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encourage the "loyal" faction of Sioux. In the coming month, additional troops would be transferred to Pine Ridge from posts scattered across the West.

One regiment, the Seventh Cavalry, left Fort Riley, Kansas, on November 23, arriving at Pine Ridge on November 26 after a twenty-five mile ride from Rushville.¹⁵ No other regiment in the entire Army evoked the images of the old Indian fighting Army more than did the Seventh Cavalry. Several of its officers and men had fought at the Little Big Horn fourteen years earlier and, because of this the belief of a "revenge" motive for its subsequent actions at Wounded Knee gained credibility. The Sioux remain convinced that avenging the death of George A. Custer was the motive for the killings at Wounded Knee.¹⁶ On the other hand, officers of the Seventh Cavalry challenged the allegation of revenge as a motive for the massacre. For example, Lieutenant John C. Gresham, Troop I of the Seventh, wrote that prior to their arrival, "[E]ighty-five per cent of our men had seen nothing of Indians--indeed, had no knowledge of them beyond what is usually acquired at home by city or country boys of their class and station."¹⁷

The ability of the Seventh Cavalry--and the entire United States Army--to respond quickly during episodes of civil turmoil contrasted remarkably from the days of 1876, although nearly all participants and observers considered the events as merely a continuation of warfare with the Sioux nation.

Fundamental changes, however, had occurred affecting both the U.S. Army and the Indian tribes. Railroad and telegraph lines now crisscrossed former Indian domains and linked military posts to one another and to their eastern headquarters. By 1890, buffalo hunting had been replaced by beef issues on annuity days. All tribes had been restricted to carefully delineated reservations, marked not only by surveyed boundaries but also by the new settlers whose property abutted them on all sides. Tribes had become divided between those members who did and those who did not accept change. The events of 1890-1891 on the Pine Ridge Reservation highlighted these contrasts and demonstrate the great degree of change.

Improved transportation and communication had significantly changed the U.S. Army's strategy, especially towards the Sioux. Big forts with large garrisons now ringed the Sioux Reservations. For example, Fort Robinson, Nebraska, guarded the Oglalas at nearby Pine Ridge. Rail and telegraph lines served this and the other forts, ensuring a swift response

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to any civil or military emergency. In the 1870s, the Lakota were highly mobile, and the Army operated from enclaves. By 1890, the reverse held true.¹⁸

The Lakota began to divide into two factions after the first Army units arrived on November 20. Agents were ordered to segregate the "well-disposed from the ill-disposed Indians."¹⁹ At the same time the Ghost Dance leaders "notified all those who did not belong in the dance and would not join it, to stay at home or go to the agency."²⁰ By November 24 there were 150 lodges of these well-disposed or "friendly" Lakota camped near the east edge of the Pine Ridge Agency.²¹ The believers, perhaps 3500 people, congregated in the northwestern part of the Reservation in a section of the Badlands that came to be known as the Stronghold. This group of dancers was comprised primarily of the Brule tribe from Rosebud, but many Oglalas from Pine Ridge were also present.²² Despite the attempted segregation, the line between believer and non-believer was never sharply drawn.

Generals Brooke's first job, restoring order and Federal authority at the agency, was quickly accomplished. His second job, restoring order on the entire reservation, was more complicated and required more time and more troops. Brooke adopted a policy developed by General Miles of "coaxing" as many of the disenchanted Lakota to the agency with a combination of promises and threats. He promised food for their bellies and redresses for wrongs and threatened military retaliation if the Ghost Dancers left their reservations. Though progress appeared agonizingly slow to civilian observers, Brooke's efforts seemed to work.

President Harrison continued to closely monitor the developments. On December 1 he ordered Miles to "take every possible precaution to prevent an Indian outbreak, and to suppress it promptly if it comes."²³ If trouble came, it was to be confined to the reservation.

Chief Big Foot and his band of Minneconjou Ghost Dancers began attracting attention in mid-September. Big Foot clung to the old Lakota traditions and resisted efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to "civilize" him. Chief Big Foot was not overtly hostile, preferring instead a kind of passive resistance and diplomacy. The Minneconjou's Cheyenne River Reservation Agent, Perain P. Palmer, reported that Big Foot's band was "becoming very much excited about the coming of a messiah. My police have

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been unable to prevent them from holding what they call ghost dances." Palmer also complained that nearly all of the dancers had Winchester rifles.²⁴

A part of the Eighth Cavalry closely monitored Big Foot's actions from Camp Cheyenne, a temporary station only about fifteen miles west of Big Foot's village.²⁵ After the Army occupation of Pine Ridge, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner was placed in command of the military camp on the Cheyenne River with orders to prevent Indians from leaving their home reservations.²⁶ On December 8 Sumner met with Big Foot, Hump and other leaders in the area and found them to be "peaceably disposed and inclined to obey orders."²⁷ After the defection of Hump from the ranks of the believers, Big Foot became the sole leader of the Ghost Dancers on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

On December 15 the situation was exacerbated when Agency police killed Sitting Bull, who had become a Ghost Dance leader on the Standing Rock Reservation. About 150 of Sitting Bull's followers fled the reservation and sought refuge. Big Foot offered to care for these refugees, and perhaps as many as forty joined his village. Another thirty believers from Hump's band also joined the village. Meanwhile at Pine Ridge prior to December 29, the military's plans appeared to be going smoothly. The Ghost Dancers abandoned their refuge, the Stronghold, for the Agency.

Almost by default Big Foot became the center of attention. Miles had sought to close the trail between the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River reservations, which would keep Big Foot's people and the followers of Sitting Bull from going to Pine Ridge.²⁸ Miles called Big Foot "one of the most defiant and threatening" Ghost Dance leaders, his band considered "malcontents of the Sitting Bull fracas."²⁹ Miles believed that the situation was too volatile and the negotiations too delicate to allow the introduction of such a catalyst. On December 16 Colonel Sumner received the order to arrest Big Foot.³⁰

Big Foot, on the other hand, had recently received a message from several important Chiefs at Pine Ridge, including Red Cloud. The letter invited Big Foot and his growing band to come to Pine Ridge to "help make peace" with the U.S. Army. In return for his help, Big Foot was to receive 100 horses. No doubt motivated by a belief that consolidation of the bands would provide a safer environment for his people, Big Foot and his council decided to travel to Pine Ridge.³¹

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Big Foot's band was intercepted and arrested by Sumner on December 21 after it became clear that his band was leaving its reservation for Pine Ridge.³² Big Foot agreed to take his people unescorted to Fort Bennett and surrender. Most of his followers however wanted to proceed to Pine Ridge. Big Foot acceded to the wishes of the majority.³³ On the night of December 23, the band slipped out of the village, quietly eluding the soldiers.³⁴

Miles feared that this "may turn all the scale against the efforts that have been made to avoid an Indian war."³⁵ Through Brooke, Miles sent out troops from the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Cavalry regiments to comb the country for Big Foot's band and prevent it from escaping into the Badlands.³⁶ On December 26 Major Samuel M. Whiteside with four troops of Seventh Cavalry and two pieces of field artillery was ordered to find Big Foot. On that same day Whiteside established a base camp for his field operations at Wounded Knee. Wounded Knee was the site of Louis Housseau's combination post office and store, and the nucleus of the small crossroads community.

The band moved in a southerly direction, but when Big Foot caught pneumonia, the march slowed to a crawl. On December 28 the band collided with Whiteside's column just northeast of Porcupine Butte. Although Big Foot carried a white flag, both sides formed battle lines. Whiteside met with Big Foot and ordered the Indians to move to the Army camp on Wounded Knee Creek, and Big Foot agreed. When Whiteside demanded twenty-five rifles, the Chief was more evasive but did promise to turn the guns over later.³⁷

Brooke sent Colonel James W. Forsyth and four more troops of the Seventh Cavalry, a troop of Oglala scouts, and more artillery to reinforce Whiteside. On Sunday evening, December 28, Forsyth arrived at the camps of Whiteside and Big Foot along Wounded Knee Creek and, as senior officer, took command. The Hotchkiss cannons were positioned on a little hill northwest of the tent camp.

Accompanying the troops were several civilians, one of whom was a Pine Ridge trader who brought a barrel of whiskey to camp. Drinking was apparently confined that evening to the officers who toasted Forsyth on his capture of Big Foot.³⁸ Whether any of the principals were intoxicated during the critical events of the next morning is not known, although the subject of soldier drunkenness has clung stubbornly to some modern versions.³⁹

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Little movement occurred in the Indian camp that evening. According to survivor Help Them, an Oglala who had accompanied Big Foot's band back to his Pine Ridge Reservation home, "The men were not allowed to take the horses to water, so the watering of the horses was done by little boys."⁴⁰

II. The Events of December 29, 1890

On December 29, 1890, the conflict between the Lakota Ghost Dance followers and the U.S. Army's response to this religious movement reached a climax and were forever bound together.

A military map (see Cloman Maps A and B), drawn by Lieutenant S.A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer, Second U.S. Infantry, after his battlefield inspection of January 3-4, 1891, and interview of several principals, greatly assists in following the complicated series of events associated with the "Fight with Big Foot's Band." It purports to be "showing position of troops when first shot was fired."⁴¹ Testimony taken from several witnesses during the military investigation of Wounded Knee corroborated the accuracy of the map.

Testimony and interviews of some of the participants indicated that the first shot was fired at approximately 9:15 A.M. Just prior to this time the ranking military officer, Colonel Forsyth, had called a council. He ordered the Minneconjous to surrender all of their guns and told them they would be taken to another camp.⁴² In grudging compliance a few old weapons were surrendered, but Forsyth believed the Indians were hiding their best rifles, and he ordered a search of the warriors and the camp.

While a few soldiers rummaged through the Indians' tents for weapons, an Indian from the council circle began singing Ghost Dance songs and "stopping down, took some dirt and rose up facing the west...cast the dirt with a circular motion of his hand toward the soldiers..."⁴³ Lieutenant John C. Gresham saw this action. Later, expressing the majority opinion of the military, he believed the throwing of dirt was a signal to attack the troops which the Indians had decided upon the night before.⁴⁴

There were however dissenting opinions. Lieutenant W.W. Robinson, an eyewitness, was convinced that the Indians did not plan to fight and therefore a signal was unnecessary. Before the firing started, he "observed the children, of all ages especially, playing among the tepees....it was

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proof to me that there was no hostile intent on the part of the Indians."⁴⁵ Dewey Beard, one of the Minneconjou survivors, explained that the man threw the dirt "as they did in the ghost dance when they call for the Messiah." Rather than a signal, the action was a prayer.⁴⁶

Shortly thereafter Black Coyote, sometimes called Black Fox, refused to surrender his rifle to the soldiers and a struggle ensued which resulted in the accidental discharge of the firearm.⁴⁷ Almost immediately, fighting broke out on both sides. The few Indians who were still armed fought back, while others retrieved firearms from the pile of confiscated weapons and joined the fighting. The shock, the surprise, and the pall of black powder smoke obscured much of the horror of these first few minutes of fighting, in which probably more than one-half of the fatalities occurred. Big Foot was wounded in the initial burst of gunfire and was later killed when his movements, according to eyewitness Charles Allen, attracted the attention of the soldiers.⁴⁸ Elk Saw Him heard Black Coyote's rifle discharge and recalled that: "Firing followed then from all sides. I threw myself on the ground/then I jumped up to run towards the Indian camp, but I was then and there shot down." One of the most detailed eyewitness accounts of the council and the first shot is by Philip Wells, a mixed blood Sioux, who served as the Army interpreter for these negotiations.⁴⁹

The deadly fire at the council circle only lasted about ten minutes before the Indian survivors began a full retreat. Most of them ran to the south across the Indian camp to the meager safety of a ravine. Many more died in the ravine, including most of the women and children. Dewey Beard took refuge in the ravine, initially at the feature labeled "the Pocket" on the Cloman Map "B" and also labeled "pit where some of the Horn Clouds were" on the Joseph Horn Cloud Map.⁵⁰ Dewey Beard later described some of the action: "I was badly wounded and pretty weak too. While I was lying on my back, I looked down the ravine and saw a lot of women coming up and crying. When I saw these women, girls and little girls and boys, coming up, I saw soldiers on both sides of the ravine shoot at them until they had killed every one of them."⁵¹

Several made their escape via the ravine. According to Lieutenant Lloyd S. McCormick: "Several had, however, succeeded in reaching the foot hills and the dense brush growing in the ravines."⁵² McCormick was not alone in his use of the plural when referring to the ravine. Lieutenant Ernest A. Garlington wrote: "The majority, including women and children, making for a ravine running along the west side of their camp; others for

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ravines leading to the low hills west of camp, firing as they went."⁵³ Joseph Horn Cloud, an Indian survivor, said he witnessed the capture of the Indians at "the head of the ravine or one branch of it."⁵⁴ Henry Jackson, also known as Harry Kills White Man, recalled that he and his sister ran "to the head of the ravine that goes west."⁵⁵ These accounts seem to indicate that the Indians took advantage of many of the branches of the big ravine as they made their escape from the troops.

The movements of other participants, especially the cavalry units, can be generally followed across the landscape. According to Whiteside, the Indians fired into Troops B and K, with the soldiers returning the fire. The Indian survivors broke through their ranks and left camp in three directions: the majority fled west, up the ravine, some across the ravine and through the south line, and some on the road past the mounted troop facing east (Troop E), between the troop and the wire fence.

Before the first shot Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson, Whiteside's battalion adjutant, was on his way to report to his superior that Indian women were packing their belongings, presumably to flee. Nicholson reached the opening between Troops B and K when the shot was fired. He passed in the rear of Troop B "to a point just behind the crest of the hill to the left (west) of the battery."⁵⁶

Commander of Troop B, Captain Charles A. Varnum, and fifteen of his men were on a weapons search of the Indian camp. They had started on the north end of the tepee camp, at "the end towards the hill where the battery was located." Lieutenant Robinson, who was assisting Varnum at the time of the shot, "galloped up the hill to the rear of the battery," dismounted, and went to the crest of the hill, probably to await orders. The remnants of Troops B and K had moved to the hill where the artillery was placed. Later, Varnum reported to Forsyth and was ordered to cover the field hospital located on the slope of battery hill. (See McFarland Map of battlefield.) Varnum testified that he was ordered,

some hours after to take 20 men and clear the ravine. I cleaned that up towards the head of the ravine some 150 yards.⁵⁷

Captain Varnum and his men captured nineteen noncombatants hiding in the ravine and sent them back to camp under guard. Troop E struck the ravine at the "Pocket" to clear it of Indians.

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Artilleryman Corporal Paul H. Weinert took the place of his fallen commander and, according to Captain Allyn Capron, fired the Hotchkiss cannon with devastating effect. Captain Capron estimated that at this time the Indians were 300-400 yards away.⁵⁸ The reminiscence of Weinert indicates, however, that the firing occurred at a much closer range. As the fighting progressed, he rolled the gun down the hill to the ravine:

They kept yelling at me to come back, and I kept yelling for a cool gun--there were three more on the hill not in use. Bullets were coming like hail from the Indians' Winchesters. The wheels of my gun were bored full of holes and our clothing was marked in several places. Once a cartridge was knocked out of my hand just as I was about to put it in the gun, and it's a wonder the cartridge

didn't explode. I kept going in farther, and pretty soon everything was quiet at the other end of the line.⁵⁹

Captain Henry J. Nowlan, who commanded Troop I, was positioned south of the ravine. He testified, "from the position I occupied on the far side of the ravine, I saw the Indians come towards us into the ravine and go up and down it." First came noncombatants who, Nowlan said, were allowed to go. Nowlan's men fired on the men who followed later.

Captain Charles W. Taylor's Indian scouts, composed of Oglala recruits, found themselves caught in a crossfire. Eyewitness John Shangrau, a scout but not part of this unit, later recalled that many of Taylor's men "broke and ran and took shelter under the bank of W.K. Creek."⁶⁰

Captain Winfield S. Edgerly commanded Troop G, which was mounted 150 yards east of the council circle. A wire fence limited the Troop's movement on one flank. After the firing, Edgerly was ordered by Forsyth to pursue the Indians. Together with Lieutenant Taylor and some scouts, Troop G reached "the head of the ravine." A trooper in Troop G estimated that this was two miles from camp. There they found Captain Henry Jackson and Troops C and D and several refugees.⁶¹

At the first shot, Troops C and D received fire from the north. It was unclear whether it was from friend or foe. Nevertheless, both troops

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fell back to the south behind the cover of a hill. According to Lieutenant Selah R. H. Thompkins of Troop D:

about 5 or 10 minutes after the firing began the Troop was deployed on the crest of a hill, dismounted. I was ordered down to the ravine to the left to hold the ravine and stop the Indians from firing into the rear of our line as they had been doing.⁶²

Whitseite rode up to Jackson and ordered him to round up the Indians' horse herd and pursue the Indians "going up the hillside to the westward." According to Jackson's testimony, he and thirty-four men of Troop C,

started due west, up the bluffs, and had to travel over 2 miles to the head of the ravine. Just as we headed it, at the point where the road came in, as we were turning at the head of the ravine, I saw an Indian slide down the bank into it.⁶³

Capt. Edward S. Godfrey's Troop D and Lieutenant Taylor and his scouts met Jackson. Both troops had come from different directions. Taylor thought this point of convergence, the "head of the ravine," was two or two-and one-half miles from camp. Assistant Surgeon Charles B. Ewing, who accompanied Edgerly, estimated the distance from camp as two or three miles. Godfrey remembered it as being one-and one-half to two miles from camp.⁶⁴

The scouts served as interpreters to convince a group of 24 Indians to surrender. A large war party of Indians coming from the direction of Pine Ridge Agency fired on the soldiers from long range and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. Jackson concluded: "We fell back about 400 yards to a good position and stood them off." Troops E and G were dispatched to the area by Forsyth as reinforcements. The military party returned to camp, picking up the Indian pony herd along the way. In his testimony, Ewing remembered that upon his arrival he:

found the ridge leading from the battery to the house in its rear being barricaded with sacks of grain and cracker boxes, and finally with the wagons drawn up in double line upon the east of the ridge. The guns of the battery were placed in position and

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a number of dismounted cavalry occupied the ridge. The barricade was in extent 400 or 500 feet by 20 or 30 wide. Similar breastworks of sacks of oats were also piled up around Mousseau's store.⁶⁵

By mid-afternoon the intermittent shooting at Wounded Knee had come to an end. Some of the Indian survivors who escaped during the fighting found refuge with the Ghost Dancers at the Stronghold. The Army gathered up their dead and wounded and began the slow march back to the Pine Ridge Agency. The Army was accompanied by most of the Indian survivors including approximately 30 seriously wounded Indians who rode in Army wagons. One Seventh Cavalryman recalled, "Slowly, for the sake of the wounded, the long column left the battleground where the reds were lying as dark spots in the winter night and their sign of peace, the white flag, was moving gently with the wind. . . ."⁶⁶ The column reached Pine Ridge at 9:30 P.M.⁶⁷

When word of the slaughter at Wounded Knee reached the Agency--the firing could be heard at the Agency, fifteen miles away--a furor arose among the Lakota camped nearby. Many Lakota men became enraged and fired on the soldier camp from long range. Brooke ordered his men to hold their fire. Civilians were convinced that the Agency would be attacked, but it never happened. Nearly all of the Lakota fled north to the Stronghold.

III. Subsequent Events

Although more than two dozen reporters from such newspapers as the Washington Evening Star, New York World, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Chicago InterOcean vied for Pine Ridge news, local talent scooped the eastern correspondents on the Wounded Knee story. Eyewitness accounts were written by Charles W. Allen, editor of the Chadron Democrat but on the New York Herald payroll, Will Cressey of the Omaha Star, and William F. Kelley, Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln). The newspaper correspondents, who had accompanied the Seventh Cavalry to see the disarming of Big Foot's band, sent their urgent dispatches by horseback to Rushville. On Tuesday morning, December 30, the first accounts of Wounded Knee appeared in daily newspapers nationwide.⁶⁸

On December 31, General Miles arrived and took personal command at Pine Ridge. Miles now had more facts at hand. This additional information led to grave doubts concerning the accuracy of the initial accounts of the

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fight. He began to hear of the severe casualties suffered by noncombatants. Miles also began to suspect that the 30 soldier casualties were due to poor placement of troops by Forsyth which resulted in a deadly crossfire. Miles was especially displeased with Forsyth's performance at Wounded Knee and the skirmish that occurred at the Drexel Mission on December 30. With the approval of Washington, General Miles launched an investigation.⁶⁹

An Indian rescue party from the Agency went to Wounded Knee on January 1, 1891, and found several survivors.⁷⁰ The rescuers were forced to abandon their mission however, when they were fired upon by other Indians who misunderstood the group's intentions.

On January 3, 1891, the Army escorted a civilian burial party to Wounded Knee.⁷¹ A second contingent of soldiers came from the Rosebud Agency, under the command of Captain Polliet A. Whitney, Eighth Infantry, to meet the party. The burial detail had been detained because of concern about a possible Indian attack and the inclement weather.

Captain Whitney counted 47 dead in the immediate area where the council had occurred but noted:

There is evidence that a greater number of bodies have been removed. Since the snow, wagon tracks were made near where it is supposed dead or wounded Indians had been lying.⁷²

During the course of their task, the burial party collected all the dead remaining on the site. Workers found numerous bodies in the ravine south of the Indian camp where many of the victims had sought shelter. The next day 146 bodies were interred in a mass grave on the same hill from where the Hotchkiss cannons had raked the camp.

The total number of fatalities at Wounded Knee was undoubtedly higher. Survivors, family, friends, and the rescue party removed some of the dead and dying before the burial party arrived on January 3, 1891. Oral tradition among the Sioux people today tells of several bodies being taken and buried along Wounded Knee Creek. Some of the Indians taken to Pine Ridge later died from their wounds. Eyewitness Joseph Horn Cloud compiled a list of 186 Indian dead.⁷³ Interviews conducted later with survivors and others by Bureau of Indian Affairs investigator James McLaughlin indicate

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that some casualties were overlooked by Horn Cloud.⁷⁴ A total of at least 250 dead is almost certain.

Angry and frustrated in the aftermath of Wounded Knee, some Ghost Dancers undertook several minor offensives and became hostile in a very real sense. In the days immediately following the Wounded Knee massacre, Sioux warriors fired on the Pine Ridge Agency, fought the Army near the Holy Rosary Catholic Mission and attacked an Army supply train near the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek.⁷⁵

By January 3 peace talks were again under way. On January 7, Miles requested Oglala leader Young Man Afraid of His Horses to travel to the Stronghold and serve as an intermediary. Young Man Afraid of His Horses was able to convince many Oglalas to leave these camps and return to the Agency. Four days later the first large group under Big Road returned to the Agency. During the next few days the most determined believers abandoned the Stronghold and moved cautiously towards the Agency. By the 15th the last of the Ghost Dancers had reached the Pine Ridge Agency. On January 16, Kicking Bear surrendered his rifle to General Miles. On January 18 Miles officially proclaimed the end of the Sioux Campaign.⁷⁶ With the "war" concluded, demobilization began immediately. The majority of troops were transferred from Pine Ridge by the end of January.

On June 27, 1891, a group of Government commissioners arrived from Washington to address some of the problems of the previous winter. While meeting with community leaders near Wounded Knee, the commissioners heard from Lakota farmer Bull Eagle:

My friends, this piece of land on the other side of the creek which has been flooded with blood is where I make my home. . . . Some men were killed right inside of my fence on the plowed ground....I am still walking through the field and plowing up the ground, covering up the blood.⁷⁷

With the help of family and friends, Wounded Knee survivor Joseph Horn Cloud erected a monument at the site of the mass grave on May 28, 1903. A contributing feature of the Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark, the marker is inscribed with the names of many of those who were killed at Wounded Knee.⁷⁸

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IV. Conclusion

In 1890, the dominant culture saw the events of December 29 as the culmination of the wars between the United States and the Sioux Nation. Wounded Knee has been recognized by Native Americans, scholars, and the general public, as a symbolic event in the long history of Indian-White relations.⁷⁹ Controversy over several of its aspects, including the Medal of Honor awarded to twenty-eight soldiers who saw action at Wounded Knee, the contention that Federal troops were "avenging" Custer, and whether soldiers or Indians fired the first shot still persist.⁸⁰ This nomination did not attempt to resolve these issues and no doubt they will continue to engage the attention of historians.

Ethnohistorians view Wounded Knee as a turning point, reflecting the drastically reduced visibility of the Ghost Dance movement and the corresponding beginning of tribal resignation to reservation life and recognition of governmental authority. Students of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis note the significant year of 1890 as the theoretical end of the American frontier. For military historians, the same year marks "the last major armed encounter between Indians and whites on the North American continent," if not the official end of the Indian wars.⁸¹ For the Lakota, the site of Wounded Knee became sacred ground, consecrated by the blood of their people and commemorated by survivors, relatives, and descendants. In the Lakota world view, as expressed by Black Elk, Wounded Knee meant the breaking of the hoop of the world and the loss of control of their destiny.⁸² In 1973, Wounded Knee once again gained national attention when several hundred Lakota and their supporters occupied the area in a violent expression of Indian rights. Wounded Knee has ultimately become the symbol of the long history of the tragic subjugation of a culture.

V. Descendant Interviews

Between July and August of 1990 the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted four oral interviews with Lakota elders who are descendants of survivors. The scope and richness of detail in the following interviews with Leona Broken Nose, Celane Not Help Him, Birgil Kills Straight, and Leonard Little Finger led to the decision to include each interview in a transcribed form rather than attempting to integrate sections of the interviews into the body of the history. The transcripts have been edited to focus on the events and issues surrounding Wounded Knee.

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The original unedited tapes of the interviews are housed at Badlands National Park in South Dakota.

The interviews contain kinship terminology such as "mother," "father," "grandmother," and "grandfather." Although Lakota kinship is based upon a principle of bilateral descent, as is Euro-American kinship, the Lakota interpret kinship categories in a broader context in which some relatives are called by the same term as others. For example, the term "mother" may be used to designate one's own mother and all of her "sisters." The term "sister" includes one's female siblings and one's mother's sister's daughters. "Grandfather" and "grandmother" may include the parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and the siblings of the these forebearers.⁸³

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WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: CELANE NOT HELP HIM AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Celane Not Help Him (CNHH) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside of Manderson, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. Celane Not Help Him is the granddaughter of Dewey Beard, who survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Dewey Beard was the brother of Joseph Horn Cloud and Daniel White Lance, both of whom also survived the massacre. Although other people were present at the time of the interview, none participated. Mrs. Not Help Him often used different inflections to represent voices of speakers other than herself. Quotation marks (") are used to capture this. In some cases, she indicated that someone said something without changing her inflection. In these cases, quotation marks are not used. This transcript reflects Mrs. Not Help Him's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

__ missed word or words
{ } uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments

JC: So, what I'm interested in finding out are just the details that Dewey Beard told you about what happened to him at Wounded Knee, including what happened on the events leading up to Wounded Knee and also what happened afterwards.

CNHH: Well, I'm going to tell something about my grandfather told me. See, I've been raised by them. When I was 14 months old, my father, Webster Beard, died of a heart attack. We lived north of Kyle.

But ever since then/ I stayed with my mom for a while, and when I was 8 years old, I remember when Grandpa (Dewey Beard) used to talk about/ When I was 8 years old, that's when I fully remember what happened, and what he told me, what we talk about. When he talk about these, he got tears in his eyes. He'd cry a little bit. and when get through talk about it, he always goes

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Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

outside and sings for them, the people that got killed in Wounded Knee.

He said that they use to camp out along the Cheyenne River, this Big Foot band. They got relatives with Sitting Bull. They used to visit over there, or sometimes some people come to visit. Then, one time, they told them that they were trying to arrest Sitting Bull, and they tried to arrest Sitting Bull, but they moved around so fast, they were not able to. The spies, the security that takes care of the _____, they told them, some soldiers are all over. And some are not soldiers, but they hang in there, and some Indian police. So Sitting Bull, they told him to watch out, be careful and alert. I think that's what he did, and here, all of a sudden, two horseback came over told Big Foot that they killed Sitting Bull that early morning. They said that it was early morning while it was still dark. They said that was in the winter when days are short, and nights are long. During that morning, early morning, but it's still dark, and here, I guess, he said that some of the Sitting Bull's band was going to where Big Foot was camped, somewhere scattered all over somewhere into further north, and, next, they said they tried to get Big Foot. They're going to capture Sitting Bull, and they're going to capture Big Foot.

So, I guess, some wants to go to north and some wants to come, but if you know how it is, if they're going to kill you or something, if they're going to do something to hurt you, you wouldn't want to stay. Just like you can't even think. You want to get away from them. You go where it's safe. So they came over here, and they use to make a camp along the Cheyenne River called Pedro. I think it's southwest along the Cheyenne River. When they're coming this way, they said they left some stuff there until they come over here, and if everything turned out, they were going to go after their stuff, so they left some stuff there. So, I guess, they just grab what they can and head out this way. Before then, Red Cloud told them to come over here and register, and they might even get team and wagon or things like that. So they were coming, but they said that they told them to be careful. But they were just coming anyway. And they said they don't have much food. They don't have too much.

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Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

just a little bit. They're tired, and they're cold, and they're starving. They're starving for part of it. They came through Red Water, and that's where they stopped, and get ready to eat a little bit and drink water and then head out this way. They stopped at Red Owl Springs overnight, and, from there, in the morning, they head out to Wounded Knee up Pine Ridge. I guess when they got up on that flat, the _____, they said the spy, the security said they saw some horsebacks going towards them, and so told them to get ready or be alert or something. So they did, and when they came closer, they knew it's soldier, Seventh Cavalry. Some were not soldiers, but they were hanging in there, and, I guess, that commander or whatever, he said he's looking for Big Foot, so they said, "He's in the wagon, really sick."

He went over there, and he said, "I came to see you. I want to talk to you. Can you talk?" he said.

So, but you can barely hear you because he's been having hemorrhage, and when they passed the Big Foot Pass, that's when he started having that nosebleed. But he's really weak, but he said, "Yes, I can talk."

He ask him, ask 25 guns when he get to Pine Ridge.

So I guess that what they all think they'll do. And when they get to Wounded Knee, they told them to put up their tipi, and they're going to give him rest, and soon they put up their tipi, and I guess they were all happy because they'll rest. Tipi and fire and rest, (so they were happy). When they got done put up their tipi, they were cooking, so they ate, and Grandpa said, "When you're going to go to bed, you always put long, white dresses on and pillow and everything, and you get ready and go to sleep." He said, "But, in those days, we didn't do that." He said, "Because, instead, when we're going to go to bed, we have to tie our moccasins, and we've got legging, and we got _____, and they fix themselves up and put their coats on, and then they sleep by the fire. They didn't have cover. They had buffalo robes, that's what they sleep on. Back in those days,

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Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

it's rough." He said, "You have to be alert in the night. Security, let them know something so they can grab everything and just take off."

So he was fixing his moccasins and next thing, there was a tap on the tipi door, so he told them to go in, and they said, "They want you at where Big Foot tent is, and they want you to sit with him over there, because he's really sick."

So, Grandpa Horn Cloud--that's Grandpa Horn Cloud that I'm talking about-- he said, "Yeah, I'll do that."

He came out, and he told Grandpa, he said, "When I walk between them, the Indian soldier and the white soldier, I'm going to Big Foot's camp. They go so far, and he really he treat me mean. They push me," push him around, and say something in white, but he said, "I can't hear, I can't understand so I told this Indian soldier, 'What is he saying? I'm supposed to do something.'"

"And he said, 'Well, never mind. Just go to Big Foot tent.'"

He went over there, but he said, "Everyone's tired from walking." Some of them were walking and some didn't have much food to eat, and they were tired and half starved and really cold. I guess that they were all tired, and I guess six men were called over there to sit with Big Foot. All that time, they want us to tell him who all's in the/ when they killed Custer, the Battle of Little Big Horn.

But they said, "We're not going to tell. We're not going to tell. We don't know something for sure, we're not going to tell."

And what Big Foot told them is, "Don't start the trouble. Don't start the trouble but do what you're told."

So, I guess that's what they do. He said he was getting sicker. He's really getting sick, so he told them not to start the trouble but listen to what they're told.

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In the morning/ Oh, during that time, they were about 44 years old. Grandpa said all this six men were 44 years, about that age, and he said when they were sitting with him, with gun point, he said, "Son, I'm going to tell you something. They torture us. All night, they don't want us to sleep, and they're trying to make us tell who was in that Little Big Horn, in that fight there with Custer. But we don't know everything for sure, so we didn't tell them anything, but they really force us to tell something."

And one of those six men was almost going to sleep. He was doing like that in there. One of those soldiers came (up after) him with a gun and he was really poke him on the side, hard, and it scared him, so he got up right away and said, "It's my fault." He said, "I almost went to sleep. I know that we're not supposed to sleep. You did want us to sleep but I shouldn't do that. It's my fault." And he got up, and he sat up.

Until that morning, daybreak came, and the soldiers came in and took Grandpa Horn Cloud and that man Iron Eyes and Spotted Thunder and told them to go back and eat and come back and sit with Big Foot again until the meeting starts.

So he went back to eat, and here that lady, Blue Whirlwind Woman, that's Spotted Thunder's wife I think. Grandpa Horn Cloud came back and ate and was heading back to Big Foot's camp, and that woman came in and talked to Grandpa Horn Cloud. She said, "Did you know that soldier followed your husband, and they was standing in back of the tipi? And that same thing." She said, "They do the same thing to my husband. I fed him, and I take out, and these two soldiers were standing in the back of the tipi. And I looked this way and there's two more standing over here in back of your tipi."

"What are they doing over there?"

She said, "I don't know. They told them to stay with Big Foot and come back this morning." And she said, "My husband came back this morning, too. He said that he was tired and feel

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Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

like go to sleep, but was going to, but they told him not to go to sleep. so they stay up."

But I guess, when they were going back to the Big Foot tent, they followed them so far, and then they just go the other way so they went back in the tipi, the tent, and those six men set with Big Foot, Chief Big Foot.

He said if they didn't do anything or say anything, this man could have put his gun out in the center like they're supposed to, but when the men came, he told them, "I want all of you to see this." He said, "I have this gun. This gun is mine. I never shoot two-legged." He said, "I always shoot for my family. I shoot food or meat for my family so I never/ I didn't have this gun for to shoot two-legged." He said, "But today they told me to put in out in the center."

I guess he showed, he showed like this (gesture gun over head) was going to go out in the center here. Soldier here, one on this side and the other side, and then they grabbed the gun. And when all of them put their head down and when they stood up, the gun discharged by itself. He didn't shoot them. That's when that fire starts. You can't hear nothing, and you can't see nothing with the smoke. He said you could see the exchange fire. That's what happened, that's what Grandpa told me.

JC: How did he escape?

CNNH: Well, the chance they get, they just run away. He got shot in the back and on his hip and on his leg, in the leg muscle so he can't normally walk like this, 'cause this was shot, so he drag his foot. In the meantime, he's really short on breath, 'cause they shot him in the lung. Up 'til he was 99 years old, he/ that's when he died of pneumonia.

He lost his first wife and son, and his father, Grandpa Horn Cloud, and his brother were killed there, and his step-mother. Grandpa's real mother is buried in Canada, the oldest one. They're two sisters, the older and the younger one, but they're both married to Grandpa Horn Cloud. So the oldest one died in

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Canada, and that younger one, they killed her in that Wounded Knee Massacre.

And ever since then, it's a hundred years now, and it will be a hundred years pretty soon and nothing ever been done about it. It looks like they had to kill them. I think they feel bad for Custer, and when we ask for something/ Right now, we are working on a compensation deal, but I don't know if we are going to get it or not, but Grandpa said he went to Washington, D.C. several times before he died. We got a lot of horses, so when we go to Washington, D.C., he sold the horses, and he raised funds, and then they go to Washington. They never go to tribal or any place to ask for help. They are always on their own. But he said, "If nothing, if they don't apologize," he said, "something is going to happen to the white people."

Grandma said, "Not all the white people," she said, "just those Seventh Cavalry, their relatives should be punished by." Nothing has been done, and if that was the white people that happened to them like that, they'll get help. They'll get paid or something. They'll get something, but looks like they don't care for what they did. They owe apology to us, the descendants, and we want something big for them, not little monument.

JC: Did your grandfather ever take you out to the site and show you around?

CNNH: [interrupts JC] Always, yeah, every year when we go to Decoration Day. We have Decoration in June, and we always camp there, gather over there. And they put flowers, they decorate the mass grave. And then after that, they eat and have a little meeting. And he always showed me the places.

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WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONARD LITTLE FINGER JULY 14, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on July 24, 1990 with Leonard Little Finger (LLF) at his home outside Oglala, South Dakota. Leonard Little Finger is a direct descendant of Joseph Horn Cloud (maternal grandfather) and of John Little Finger (paternal grandfather), both of whom survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were Mr. Little Finger, Dave Vasarhelyi, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park, and Jennifer Chapman, also a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park who conducted the interview. The transcript reflects Mr. Little Finger's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

- ___ missed word or few words
- () uncertain transcription
- [] Jennifer Chapman's comments
- / break in speech not representing a full thought

LLF: Okay, well my name is Leonard Little Finger, and my ancestry involves, as far as Wounded Knee massacre is concerned, both my maternal and paternal sides. On my maternal side, Joseph Horn Cloud was a young boy, approximately 12 years old at the time of the massacre; and on my paternal side, John Little Finger, who was approximately 15 years old at the time of the massacre. And I guess the impact that I have from that is that I'm a second generation person from the original massacre, and my father being the first generation, and my mother being the first generation on the other side.

And I guess, I know this is on tape, but approximately about two miles from here, due east at the top of those pine hills, there's a deep canyon in there. And my grandfather on my dad's side, along with four other men, escaped the slaughter and came to Red Cloud School. In his statement, my grandfather, John Little Finger, he indicated that they had escaped through the ravine and had ended up near the top, and they were being pursued by cavalry soldiers. And at that time apparently some people living nearby had heard the shooting and had grabbed weapons, and they were coming to see what was going on, and as they came over the rise, the cavalry that was pursuing the four men saw the people on horse back, and they turned, and they fled back to the main

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Within the boundaries of the Landmark is a section of the Wounded Knee Creek valley and the adjoining uplands. The Creek crowds the eastern side of the valley creating a nearly level terrace 1,000 to 2,000 feet wide between the Creek and the base of the uplands. A gradual ascent from the valley floor leads to the uplands approximately 80 feet above. Eroded spurs of the uplands which jut into the valley resemble small hills. Beyond the site boundaries, the uplands may be 200 or more feet above the valley floor.

The site is cut by a dry ravine running east to west. Near Wounded Knee Creek, the ravine is approximately 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep with nearly vertical sides. As the ravine extends west, the gulch becomes narrower and deeper as it cuts into the uplands. The ravine divides into smaller narrow branches that rise to a ridge which forms the western boundary of the landmark.

Historic Appearance

The community of Wounded Knee in 1890 included a post office which was housed in Louis Mousseau's general store. Mousseau's residence and those of Red Bear, Eagle Bull, Plenty Bear, Six Feathers, and Fire Lighting were located nearby.¹ The first massacre accounts were written in one of these structures, and after the Army left some of the wounded Indians found shelter in the houses.² The remaining structures in the community consisted of an Omaha dance lodge, a school, a Presbyterian church, and at least six additional houses, unrelated to the history of the Landmark and located outside the boundaries.³ None of these structures have survived.

Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist with the Nebraska Historical Society, conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of Wounded Knee in October 17-19, 1989. During the course of reconnaissance, square nails and salt-glazed pottery were found in the northeast corner of the landmark, suggesting the possible location of the historic structures that comprised the community of Wounded Knee. A shallow depression about 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep was also identified. This feature closely corresponds to the location of the Mousseau residence as described in historic maps and contemporaneous photographs. This kind of feature can result from a partially filled basement. Mousseau noted that his house had a cellar.⁴ However, the feature has not been archaeologically tested. During the reconnaissance, a local Lakota informant Pat Rowland identified a general area approximately 1000 feet southwest of the burial hill where, according to local tradition, some of the horses killed during the battle

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contingent. So consequently, in the course of that flight there, my grandfather was shot twice, one in the calf and then the other in the heel, which I would like to note that they shot him from the back, they didn't shoot him face forward. He was shot (in the back), and that's something that's very upsetting to me.

But nevertheless, these--the group of people that were there--took them to the Red Cloud, or then what was known as the Holy Rosary Mission and later Red Cloud Mission, but they treated with sulfa to the wounds of my grandfather and were asked to leave, and the Jesuits that were there, fearing that there might be further outbreaks of violence and not wishing to be part of it, apparently had asked them to leave. And this was in the midst of a blizzard that was going on, so they left. And from Red Cloud we live approximately 7 miles. And they followed this ravine or valley down to the point that where, as I mentioned, approximately two miles from here there's the outcropping of (deep) canyons and the pine trees that rim it. Well, there's a big, deep canyon in there that's probably maybe a 150 foot, and its almost of a horseshoe shape, and that is where they ended up, and they dug a trench, and that's where they hid out from December--well that would have been December 29--all the way through what he called spring when it started to get green.

So, I imagine they were there maybe three to four months during which time they subsisted on whatever they could find. And of course the activity that they saw coming down this valley included people that lived in this area. They had no idea where they were because they had come from around an area called Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River Reservation and were totally unaware of the people here or the landmarks. And they also were fearing for their lives, and occasionally they would see soldiers coming through here. I don't have too much detail as to the day-to-day activities, but the grandfather had mentioned to me that on several occasions they had seen some cavalry troops coming in line, and at the end of the period of time they did come back down into the valley and subsequently married some people here. All four were brothers.

I would like to note also that my grandfather, John Little Finger, is a direct descendent from Chief Big Foot [Big Foot's son Yellow Horse was the father of John Little Finger]. Chief Big Foot had, I believe,

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around seven wives, and it was a custom at that time that if you married one sister, you took the whole group if there were other sisters. So Chief Big Foot was under those conditions, and out of that the indication I've been given is that my grandfather was one of the/ and it must have been so that they were all together, and those family members included the Little Fingers, the Blue Legs family, the He Crow family, and the Pipe on Head family, and so that's a point that I'd like to mention.

I was with him until he passed away in 1954, and at the time that he passed away, I was 15 years old, and I grew up with him. Both he and his wife, my grandmother, essentially raised me during the summer time. In fact, my first words were in Lakota, so they must have had a tremendous influence on me at the time of my growing up. I did not realize the impact of what he had sustained until much later. And I guess that's part of the indoctrination--if I can use that term--that they had with the Indian people; indoctrination from the stand point of trying to, rather than acculturate the Indian people to the white ways including religion and the way of life, rather than acculturating them, trying to assimilate them. And so, consequently my indoctrination was to really look down on the Indian aspects. This is just what they ingrained into us, but as I grew older I began to realize the impact that it had on him. And he did show me his scars. They were scars that were not adequately sewn, you know, so they were jagged, jagged scars that he had. He walked with somewhat of a slight limp, never really altering, I guess, his lifestyle because he was able to do all of the manual labor that was required to maintain life. As I mentioned, I live approximately two miles from where they were holed up for three months, and he liked this place, and, as the allotments came, he took this land, so we're actually living at the place he came to in order to carry on a life afterwards.

I think that the most specific things that I recall are several things: one is the actual battle itself. He indicated to me that he had no intention of coming to Pine Ridge. He was out riding horseback one afternoon, and he seen a large group of people that were coming south. And so he rode horseback over to them and decided to find out what was going on. And he met his cousins there, and he rode horseback with them and pretty soon it was dark. They invited him to stay, and during the course of the evening they talked him into coming

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along with them to Pine Ridge. The story that I have been told is that Big Foot, Chief Big Foot, was coming down at the request of Red Cloud, and that there was a discussion of giving Chief Big Foot a hundred head of horses and a hundred head of cattle, and that in the subsequent spring that Chief Red Cloud was going to assist him to go to Washington, D.C. and seek additional funds for being able to survive on the Cheyenne River Reservation. And Chief Big Foot, having a large clan and band of people, he found it necessary to do that because of the very essence of survival--being able to obtain sufficient food and so on. But, nevertheless, my grandfather started to travel with them, and by the time that they entered the Wounded Knee area, it dawned on him that he was in a terrible situation.

I think that one of the points that has always been shown from the military perspective as well as the Indian agents' perspective has been that they were coming down to Ghost Dance, and that this was, I think, a very difference of opinion from the stand point of the Indian people. There was indications that there was going to be an uprising and so on. I imagine if you're hungry, without any food, you may call it an uprising, but you're going to all call it a necessity to find adequate food for your children.

I think maybe I'll divert a little bit and cover the aspect of the Ghost Dance because the Ghost Dance is a direct translation Wagpi Macipi and wagpi being ghost, but the proper term for it is the spiritual connection with the spirit world. That needs to be corrected. It's not a Ghost Dance. Ghosts are in comics and in movies, but they are not in the spirituality aspect as identified by the Sioux Indians. The Ghost Dance was an act that was performed in the sense of spirituality and that through the prayers and through the ability to establish communications with the spirit world, that this was the rite, the ritual that was performed. So that needs to be clarified.

As they approached Wounded Knee, it's unclear because my grandfather never really talked about the evening that they settled there. Where he picks up, and what he had told me was when the gunfire started that he immediately ran. He apparently was close to the ravine, and he immediately started running for the ravine. And before he made it to the ravine, he said that there was scuffling; there was a tremendous

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amount of gunfire, a tremendous amount of smoke from the gun barrels. That's probably maybe because impending blizzard, there's probably an inversion of air so nothing was dissipating, it just kind of hung to the ground.

And as he ran, he said he felt like somebody hit him in the back with an axe. It was just a sharp pain and it was strong enough to bowl him over. He laid there for a while, realizing that he had been shot, but he also realized that he needed to get away so he jumped back up, and he started to run again. And again he felt like someone hit him with an axe, and this time they shot part of his heel away, and it was both on the same side of his same leg, and again he went down, but this time he was able to crawl into the ravine. And he said he laid there for a while but, you know, the sounds of the gunfire and the crying of the people/ The sounds that he mentioned were very awful sounds of people being slaughtered, and he knew that was going on, so he proceeded to run up that ravine.

And there were several of them that, as they ran along, that were hiding. And it just so happened that the four cousins got together, and they continued to run. But by the time they had reached about half way up the ravine, the soldiers, realizing that some of them were escaping--and this apparently must have been after the immediate shooting had occurred and they were in and around--they began to fire at them, and they were running towards them. Fortunately, the ravine twists and turns and there's curves, and so consequently, they were able to make those turns. They stayed very close to the ground, and as they were nearing the top is when there was a group of Indians, local people, that had guns, and, of course, when the cavalry had apparently gone up that far, and if you look at the site itself, it's maybe a mile and a half from the site itself. So they were able to escape because of that. Had not that happened, I'm sure that he would have been killed, and I guess I wouldn't be here talking. As they got to the top, the other thing that he mentioned was that down a little bit further there was a woman that was sitting on the ground, and she had a baby in her hands, and she was rocking the baby. And what he had saw was a soldier had come over and took the bundle from the woman. And he flung the bundle to the ground a ways, far enough that the mother couldn't reach. And he had a rifle, and he fired three or four shots into that bundle. And the mother, he saw

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her stand up and start running with her arms outreached. She totally ignored the cavalry soldier, and the cavalry soldiers side-stepped her, and as she came by, he hit her in the back of the head with that rifle, and he knocked her to the ground. And he took his heel of his boot, and he put it over her throat. And then he leveled that rifle on her, and he probably fired maybe five or six shots into her head. And he said that has always been in his mind. We could never really ever get that away from his mind. I think that's probably the most traumatic thing that stayed with him despite being wounded and despite being displaced.

I think the thing that I want to mention here is that had I been in that position I probably would have had very mixed feelings. I guess my feeling would be hatred, my feelings would be revenge, but I never did detect them from my grandfather. And instead of the hatred and the revenge, it was more towards: we are all people and we must live together; this thing has happened; there is nothing I can do about it, but I must forgive whoever has done whatever to us; I bear no grudge; I bear no hatred towards the federal government. And I think that has given me a lesson. It has probably helped me in my ability to cope with the world, knowing that to have something so awful happen to my grandfather. Yet it gives me the strength to know that those things happen, they come to pass and that to forgive and to be able to carry on is a much stronger way for a man to live. And I teach my children the same thing. I tell them when they are old enough, they will hear my story, and they will carry that on.

Within my grandfather's side, we go back to seven generations of people whose name is a name by the name of Yellow Horse, and every succeeding son in the following generation receives the Indian name of Yellow Horse. My grandfather had it. My dad had the name, and I did not get it, and now my son carries that name on, and that name probably goes back to maybe early 1600s or mid 1600s.

This household that I have is a Takini Oyate, and these are survivor people, so as my generations carry on forward, they will forever be known as Takini Oyate. We are survivors, and with each generation, we've come a long ways, from my grandfather to me to be able to be a hospital administrator, to have educational and experienced background. Putting those together and carrying it on to the next

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generation, moving on forward--that gives us a chance for greater survival.

That's one side of the story. On my other side, Joseph Horn Cloud. Joseph's father was Horned Cloud. His name was Horned Cloud with No Name was killed there, along with two sons, Sherman and William Horn Cloud. Also there was a cousin, who at that time was considered as a sister, was also killed there. Along with that, his brother Dewey Beard whose wife and ten day old daughter were killed also. I've got about five or six of my immediate family that were killed there, and there were probably around four or five that sustained wounds and were able to survive, the largest loss of life being from my mother's side.

Joseph Horn Cloud is also the person who, in later years/ Well in his early years went on to school at an all-black college in Virginia-- Hampton Institute--and had a good command of the English language. And he took my two uncles and my mother along on trips back east, and the purpose of the trips was to raise funds. And the funds that he raised erected that monument there. And that's the only monument that has ever been established there. He felt very strong about it. I unfortunately never knew my grandfather because he died around 1929, and he had left his three children as orphans: my mother and my uncle both were raised at Red Cloud Mission, and then the other uncle was raised by some ranchers up at Potato Creek.

But, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, was part of the band that was involved at the Custer's battle. And, I guess it's interesting to note that--again from the white man perspective--that Custer's was a massacre and Wounded Knee was a battle, and it probably should be recognized both ways. If you look at it from the Indian perspective, it's exactly the opposite. There's no need to mention much of Custer because much has been written, and those that are aware that Custer's tactics led [to] a loss of life that, you know, was largely his responsibility. But anyway, I just wanted to mention that part.

Following the battle at Little Big Horn, Horned Cloud, who would be my great grandfather, along with his family, went with Sitting Bull into Canada. And they stayed there for a period of time, maybe at least three years. And they decided to return back to the Cherry Creek

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area. They were from the Cheyenne River Reservation. Both sides of my family are Minicoujou Lakotas, and so on their way back to the area that they originally had left, for some reason, they stopped at Fort Lincoln. And during that period of time that they were at Fort Lincoln, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, who was probably at that time somewhere between five to nine years old, was permitted to attend school with the fort children there. Subsequently, he learned the English language. The family did not use the English language, but that was his start in learning the language. And when the Wounded Knee Massacre occurred, the evening that they were taken to Wounded Knee, my grandfather took it upon his own to visit the campfires of the cavalry. And he has indicated to me that at that time there was some drinking that was going on, and that he had heard mention that this group of Indians that we have right now are members of the band that killed Custer. And he also heard that we should kill these people also, we should avenge what they did to Custer. And they did not know that he understood the English language, and so he immediately went to his father, and he told his father, who was Horned Cloud, that there was going to be something to happen, and he told him that they were drinking, and that these men were talking about this group killing Custer, and that they wanted to do something about it. Of course, there was not much they could do because they were under guard at the time, but it was decided that Horned Cloud, my great grandfather, would stay with Chief Big Foot, and that he would try to protect him in whatever way he could, and, of course, he was probably one of the first to die because when the shooting started, he was with Big Foot, and both he and Big Foot are in that grave, that mass grave.

Joseph was able to escape. He escaped along with Dewey Beard, who was his brother, and White Lance, who was also his brother, and what they did was they went down into the creek area, and somewhere they found a hiding place, and they hid there. They did not know exactly where they were either. So, the following morning, what they did was somewhere early in the morning, the horses had/ They had a considerably large amount of property with them, but what they did was they caught some of the horses that they recognized which were theirs and immediately left the scene. Of course, Dewey Beard was my, in Indian ways, also my grandfather. He left knowing that he was leaving his wife and his ten day old child, and he's well documented. I think

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he's given his story as to what had happened there. That's how they were able to survive.

Their family was completely decimated, and as a result, they essentially all took/ They kept their names, their Indian names, and when in later years when allotment took place Horn Cloud, Beard and White Lance all took that as their English name but they were (direct) brothers. I think from the perspective of my uncle Joe, well I have an uncle that's Joseph Horn Cloud also. It's his son. But I think from the perspective of my grandfather, he had written and had to try to find some form of compensation. He did as much as within his power, political power which was almost absent up until senator Francis Case was involved in it. He wrote a lot of correspondence, and on record, which I have access to, are statements that he has given regarding the loss of property that occurred. And I started to calculate that. If you take a human life--of course, there is really no measure for that, and I did not include those figures for loss of human life, but I took into consideration the listing that he had given to/ I'm not sure, I have to refer to my notes that I have, but I'm thinking that it's a commanding officer. Well, the name's not important, but what he had done was he had made a list of everything that he had lost. He initiated that because he felt that, at some point in time, there would be an opportunity to seek compensation for that, and there's something like 37 head of horses, approximately 11 tipis, utensils, bedding, beadwork, knives, guns, wagons, teams.

One of the things that both grandfathers essentially had hoped, but were not in the position to do, was some form of compensation. They both provided testimony which was documented, and I find it somewhat in a sense personally offensive from the standpoint that the retired Indian agent, by the name of Valentine McGillivuddy I believe, took that testimony, and upon his retirement, went back to Boston and had that information published, took the direct testimony of the people. And I do not know what he did with that money, whether or not he turned it back over to the Indian people or not, but from my understanding that was for personal compensation for himself, and I find that offensive, extremely offensive. I'm grateful that he was able to document it, but if he were able to document that, he should have also been able to turn that money back over to the people, at

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least the survivors that at that point in time had not received anything.

But also they come across saying that this is a place of death. This was something that they died in such a way without the ability to defend themselves except with their hands. Women, men and children. No regard for women and children, all were killed. And that this type of action should be left as it is, that there should not be any form of recognition for them. These people tried for those survivors while they were alive, tried to get something but were unsuccessful. And I guess that some people can interpret it as such to leave it as it is without any further development or without any further recognition. My feelings are that to interpret it that way, I feel that this is a very sacred place, as is any cemetery where it is essentially a consecrated ground, and its largely probably because of the respect that you have for the people that have gone on.

My specific recommendations are that it's very appropriate for us to take that theme and to establish through the Federal Government a continuum of care. There should be a place so that the things--for example for what I have said and for what other people will say--should go down as documented history, not only for the people that are aware of Wounded Knee and have read it in books and have come to see the site, but most importantly for the children who will be coming up in future generations. I have had direct contact with my grandfather and I knew him. I walked with him; I ate with him; he cared for me. But, after I'm gone, my son will not know that, except through what I have said. And I personally would like to see a permanent record that shows the documentation of the people that are able to relate the story from the Indian standpoint. I would like to see permanent documentation in a memorial very similar to the, as called, the Battlefield of Custer, to have the National Park Service to establish a memorial. It doesn't have to be anything elaborate, but it should at least at a minimum contain things that are mementos or that to document what has happened there, and I'm very much in favor, and I support strongly any effort that the Federal Government can do. I probably am speaking out of place from the standpoint of many people as they look at it, but I feel that the Federal Government, at this point, is probably in a better position than any group people to establish a memorial that is very befitting of a site like that, and

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is in much better position than any group of people to maintain that ongoing. I would not favor any exploitation such as setting up hot dog stands within, you know, a two mile radius. It's all right if they set up the hot dog stand, you know, away from that area, but that whole area is a death ground, and I would not favor anything like that. Beyond a established limit, (whatever) boundaries are established, beyond that I could see whatever needs to be done.

JG: Okay, Can I ask you a couple of questions?

JG: I'm interested in/ in that report the dates for the landmark goes until 1903 when your grandfather Horn Cloud put up that memorial but not much is known about what happened there between 1890 and 1903. How was the site revered or memorialized by the people who had survived? Like, how did your grandfathers/

LLF: My grandfather Horn Cloud, he felt a very strong connection, a very strong bond. On occasion, he became what they called a catechist. This is an earlier version of a lay person in the Catholic Church. They assisted the priest; they worked directly with him. And what he did was on occasion that he came to Red Cloud over on Pine Ridge, he made it a point to camp there, and he actually slept on the grave. And some of the cousins that were with him, his cousins, said that they used to be afraid. They were, you know, spooked or whatever. My grandfather Horn Cloud felt that he was at home because of the brother and his father were buried there, were laying there. He said that it's just like/ I mean, he looked at it as much as another home because that's where the remains of his family was, and so he held that in very, very high reverence, and that must be enough of a reverence that he felt that it was necessary for him to put something up. And, you know, if he didn't put that there at that time, maybe nobody else would have.

But, my other grandfather, John Little Finger, he always referred to it as the killing place, and it was something that he looked at it, I guess, as an atrocity _____. He had respect for it, but nevertheless it was a place that (held) very strong, terrible memories, too.

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WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONA BROKEN NOSE
AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Leona Broken Nose (LBN) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside Manderson, South Dakota, by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). Leona Broken Nose is the granddaughter of James Pipe on Head who survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were members of the BBC crew, Alex White Plume, and Jennifer Chapman, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. The transcript reflects Ms. Broken Nose's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

- ___ missed word or words
- () uncertain transcription
- / break in speech in which thought is incomplete
- [] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BBC: Leona, we'll ask you to start and tell the story you told me about your grandfather ___ and the feelings that you have about the people that died there ___.

LBN: The way my grandfather, James Pipe On Head, explained to us while he was/ He told us all these stories when he was on his death bed. Really, I didn't really pay attention to what he was talking about in the first place about the Wounded Knee business until he started telling us. He told us to sit down and listen and talk. He said it was really important to him that he said that he was the ___ of that Wounded Knee Association, and then he never got to it, and then he passed away.

So, when he told us this, he said he was coming from the north with the band. His grandfather's name was Chief Big Foot, and he said he was about/ I don't know about how old he said. And his sister was about 15 year and a two year old. Okay, and they were coming and camping, and his grandfather was sick, so they come so far, and they camped, and they keep going until they got to Wounded Knee, and they camped there. All of a sudden, these cavalry start going on, and he said that his grandfather was so sick that his mother or grandmother

Leona Broken Nose Interview Continued:

made some Indian medicine to take it to his grandfather, Chief Big Foot, to give him his medicine throughout the night, and he went over to the tent, and he said he was laying there, and all these generals or whatever were in that tent, and that cavalry were around the tent. They wouldn't even let him in, but he said he opened the back of the tent and crawled in to give the Indian medicine to his grandfather, and he left.

He said he went back to the other tent to where his mother was, and the next morning, he said they were going to leave, and he said he didn't know what happened at that time. He said all of a sudden, there was a big bang and that's it. He said everything was shooting guns and they're running all over, and he said my grandpa was with his mother running. His mother had his little sister on her back, and they were running over the hill, and, all of a sudden, his mother stopped and said, "Your little sister's dead."

So they're going to bury her right here, and he said there was a big tree beside the big hill, so they dug under this tree. And his mother got his little sister off and wrapped it on his blanket. And they put her under there, and they covered with a lot of weeds and twigs. And then they took off again. He said they were still running when they met up with a little boy, so he had it by the hand. They were running and running. He said that all they time, they were kept pointing towards the west. That was the direction they were running until some people found them, and they helped them get back, (he always tells me), and he gave us some papers, which I can't find last night, the story and all the list of the names he had with him, those people that were there with him that time, but I can't find the papers last night.

That's all he keeps telling us. That's as far as he remembers. (They went) back to Pine Ridge. He said they took him to a church. He said there was a church that/ and there was like a hospital. It was a church, but they made it into a hospital, and now, that church is way out in the country, seven miles from Oglala towards Red Shirt Table. That church is still out there. It's called St. Johns Episcopal Church. So that church is about a hundred years old, (at least) a hundred years old. That's all.

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Leona Broken Nose Interview Continued:

[she continues her response with more feelings on the significance of the site. This appears below.]

LBN: So they always talks about this Wounded Knee. Why would this happen? Why did the government never even pay them? They didn't even pay attention to them. They say that there's a lot that keeps going to meetings, meetings, meetings, and they never accomplished anything (until the day he died.) So I don't know why the government didn't turn around and apologize to them or what, why they didn't do it. They just let it go.

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(8-86)Section number 8 Page 42WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: BIRGIL KILLS STRAIGHT
JULY 14, 1990

This transcript is a shortened version of a full interview conducted on July 14, 1990, with Birgil Kills Straight at his home in Kyle, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from Badlands National Park. Birgil Kill Straight is a direct descendant (grandson) of Daniel White Lance, a survivor of the Wounded Knee massacre. Daniel White Lance was the brother of Dewey Beard and Joseph Horn Cloud, both of whom also survived the massacre of December 29, 1890. At Mr. Kills Straight's request the original interview was edited to obtain a shortened version. The transcript reflects Mr. Kills Straight's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation, the following notation is used in this transcript:

/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
_ missed word(s)
() uncertain word(s)
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BKS: If you don't know, stories and legends all come from actual events, so it's not anything that's made up for children like most (myths and legends) are. It has a beginning and that's part of oral history. Creation; the language; our understanding of the natural world, we call spiritual, now, other people call it religion. It's separate. We don't really have a religion per say. We talk about the spiritual. In the well established culture everything is separate. It wasn't. It began in a time when we lived in the spirit world at the time of creation of this earth, this particular spirit world. There were several before this one. And how the sun spun off of this earth, called the rock. We call it ixyan. And the sun came from earth and it was the first being inside the ixyan. The first being in the wi. wi or the sun is wi. w-i. And ixyan is the rock. So probably the first word, at least from the time of that creation, understanding is winyan, which is the woman. And that's what we call the earth. The language is very important here because everything was built on the way the whole universe is.

The second life I suppose was really the root, the hutkan, because we are talking about the time when we were part of the vegetation, the

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

things that grow. Then the third life: the buffalo, gag, the four-legged. We didn't say (when), but you can imagine the first sign of buffalo that appeared in the world was a four-legged creature. It must have been during prehistoric times. And then the forth life, we became two-legged. We originated out of the Black Hills from the hole called Wind Cave. But that is probably where the buffaloes came out, from (Wind Cave) which is the surface. [They] came from underneath from part of a root (from a plant) and we are here now.

The relations were very important, understanding who our relations are. And I don't know how much you know about Indian history and culture, but there is a very simple prayer called Misakuya Qyamin which means "All My Relations." It sorts of leaves it at that. It didn't specify. It wasn't very specific. It just says "All My Relations." So everything that moves, everything that grows and everything that is (is) our brother.

Translating that into the modern (or) the contemporary history of 100 years ago, I started to say that families are important. White Lance is (in fact) my grandfather, my mother's father. He was part of the incident at Wounded Knee. He survived. His other brother was Iron Hail. Iron Hail is also known as Putinhinla. The translation of that name, Putinhinla means "beard". Actually, what would have probably been more appropriate was "moustache" but that Putinhinla is what they called "beard" and the name stuck. And from him I've heard of the events that took place, perhaps not in sequence. In my older, later years, I was able to piece that back together into some sort of sequential order.

There was another one of the Horn Clouds. There were several Horn Clouds. For some reason or another they adopted their father's name. It must have been during the time that most everyone, the youngsters took on their father's name. So there were several, and I can't remember/ And then there was Iron Deer and then there were several others. One was named Surrounds. His body was never found. And then another one was named Her Horses and another one was called Elk Nation Woman. There was a total of eleven of them. There were twelve but one stayed up in Canada with Sitting Bull so eleven brothers and sisters came back down. They lived from around Bridger up to near perhaps ___ or some place around ___.

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

When Sitting Bull was killed, some of the relatives came into Cherry Creek and Bridger. In fact, they came to Bridger, and Big Foot was coming here to negotiate sort of a truce. There was a build up of an army here and then the idea was to totally, at one point, was to totally wipe out the Oglalas, and Red Cloud probably realized this. He sent for Big Foot. (He was) a negotiator, an arbitrator, and the community knew him that way, sort of a holy man. He understood what was going on.

Of course, he never arrived at Pine Ridge. And in a way, the white people that lived here and the government panicked as well after what had happened. So the final assault on the Oglalas never took place. Instead, their ways would develop to more fit the government's ideas about a (nation) _____. And after that stopped, everything went underground. The religion aspects, the spiritual aspects, the rituals went underground, and the people had accepted their way of life _____ until a time of (resistance).

There's still some anger. There's still some sadness. There's still all of this. There's still a lot of hate. And to lead into what happened in 1890, it's really not a case of, as the saying goes, that there was a battle and that they lost the battle. It wasn't that at all. It's just the fact that after 1890, the government of the United States had much more influence, not as quite as influential today as most people like to think. We have a treaty with the U.S. government in 1868 which was bounded with a pipe. Anytime you do it with a pipe, you can't break it. And so for us, that still exists. On the other hand, the U.S., it was just a game, a game of words, and what they take is okay. They feel that they're the conquerors and they can take whatever they can. They're not the conquerors. They haven't conquered us. But until the day that I die, until the day that feeling of nationalism dies, we're still a separate nation.

Around Cherry Creek, Eagle Butte area, Pierre, what seemed to be the case was, in the late 1800s, the movement into the Black Hills and across this land probably really had accelerated and the treaty was signed. The U.S. government couldn't control the masses according to that treaty. I mean, I don't think they tried. They were part of it. Custer was the main person. Some of the generals and commissioners, they'd already made investments all over the country. It's greed and

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

(it made them) want more gold and more land, and we just happened to be in the way. So the final assault was supposed to happen. I don't know when that was, but the years that led up to it until 1890/ And some of the ones that you probably heard about more were like Sitting Bull and Big Foot, but there were several other, many other spiritual leaders. I think somebody might have at about that time discovered that when you believe in something and will die for it, the only way to remove them or to put them out of the way is to kill them, and that's what they tried. The medicine men, the holy men, we call them Holy Interpreters, in Lakota we call them wakani iska, were being killed.

The Ghost Dance wasn't all (the ancient way) either. The formal Ghost Dance was Christian, but there was already ceremonies like the Keeping of the Spirit, which is one of the seven rituals that were very strong, and because we lived spiritually, the physical and the metaphysical were everyday. They must have discovered that we were on the way, and if they wanted to stop us, they had to kill the spiritual leaders. In a way that was partially successful, at least that's the feeling that we got. And I can't remember the exact words Iron Hail used, but I suspect this is what he was talking about. I was about 14, 15 years old when he died, so the stories that he told me were told to me before I was 14, 15. It was like I said, (it was) years before I'd begin to occasionally, some of what he said, I'd think about it and tried to figure out what he means.

1890, I guess is when, at least as Black Elk says it, that Sacred Hoop, the way we understood it, was broken, and, from that point on, that our life would be different. And it turned out that way. But also, [the] holy men--it wasn't just Black Elk--the current wakani iska, the people who have this understanding a lot more, in fact, much more than I do, tell me the Sacred Hoop is still here. All what we must do is mend it, put it together.

That goes back to ceremonies that we must have before undertaking a major event; purification; going up on the hill vision questing for four days and four nights. We prepare ourselves, wash in that bed of sage which is still plentiful now. Our spiritual understanding begins upon a vision quest.

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

And the medicine men, the holy men or the waskani leaka who interpreted some of the (stuff) that took place then and even now tell us that it's become much more urgent to create this attention. That in the seventh generation after Wounded Knee, 1890, that we will resurface. These were some of the prophecies. After all of this, people will get at least full conscious throughout the world. (It's time we take) a very serious look at the way we're living now. From the year August 15, 1987, to the year 2012 is when the period of adjustment (starts to take place.) This is according to (Edgar) Cayce and to the Mayan Calendar. It's more like, I said this before, it's like Doomsday prophecies. But in a way, the understanding here is at least what had happened back then (as I learned) runs parallel to what is happening now. And when the life of a nation is threatened _____ many of the people of that nation died. It's happening again. Wounded Knee symbolizes that. For some reason or another, nothing throughout the world more symbolizes this than Wounded Knee, the 21st century.

White Lance undoubtedly knew some of this. I never knew him. He was shot. His stomach intestines were coming out. He wrapped it up in a blanket. (His) heel was shot off so he crawled for about 2 miles, maybe a little more, along the ravines, and climbed up on the side of the/ way to near the top of where Wounded Knee is visible from. A blizzard came in. He stayed in a snow drift in the bank for four days and four nights. When the blizzard lifted, someone came to him and talked to him and told him that he was going to fix him. (To the left of the) bank, the snow bank, was a coyote. The coyote came in, licked his wounds and he was okay. So he communicates with the coyotes, the spirits that reside within the coyote body.

The stories that he told were pretty much similar to the ones that were talked about. I couldn't set the sequence or use his language. I can paraphrase a lot of it.

An hour is up.

JG: Can I ask one more question?

BKS: Yes.

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JG: One thing that we wanted to know/ Right now in the report, the time frame is up to 1903, and we were wondering what happened between 1890 and 1903. What did people do to memorialize or reverse the site of Wounded Knee?

BKS: Every place where there's a dead/ Okay there's a word in Lakota, wamakaskan, wamakaskan, WA-ma-ka-skan. Four syllables. Each has a meaning. Wa means, its interpretation is snow. Snow comes from the direction north. That's what purifies; that has a power from the north; that's what's called holy, sacred. The word wakan, it's wa-kan. Kan is the blood vessel, and because it purifies, the wind and snow purify it and filters out the air and the water, it prepares it for new growth, and it becomes drinkable again. Ma, the snow, means purity. And naka is earth, the world or dirt, just any common dirt that you step on if you want. You probably don't think about what you step on as you walk, but that dirt, it's just that one portion that you step on becomes dust. The dirt or the dust is called naka. It depends on how you use it: naka can also mean the world or the earth. Shanaskan is movement, something that moves, something that has life that moves. So the word, wamakaskan, which in today's language is considered as an animal/ Animals are called wamakaskan, but it has more of a deeper meaning than that. So what comes to the center, the spirit from the spirit world, what comes to us through the metaphysical world in our ritual is a wamakaskan. We call them wamakaskan _____, which literally translated, again, like I said it would be/ Well not literally, but the understanding that we have now of what the words mean, it would be the animal people, the animal nation. That's what comes to us. This is why the coyotes and all that is important; the deer; eagle; the birds themselves are important, but what is more important is the spirit that resides within those animals. The word wamakaskan is its truest form, is the sacred dirt or the sacred parcel of dirt that is (moving). That is the word wamakaskan.

Our understanding, that spirits that come from us still reside within us, is the one that we see as we see ourselves, because other spirits occupy our body. Several spirits at different times or at one time, use our bodies for their work. The medicine men have up to 400 and some spirits that work in them.

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

These are representatives of the animal. Like I say, it's not always the animal that's important, but the spirit that resides within the animal or within the fruit or within the insect or whatever. Any time a person is buried--if I were to look at this as an archangel, where I have a higher level of understanding of life that the archangel is supposed to have and some of the spirits who we work with are supposed to have, then I would look at the yamakaskan that is buried wherever a person is buried. [It] is sacred for that person returns to find dust, fine powder, but the spirits that resides there go in the (air), so wherever a person is buried is sacred. You come back to yamakaskan.

Wounded Knee, in that sense, is sacred. Wounded Knee should be left the way it is. Take out the foundation, that church foundation. Maybe move that church. Remove that road. Just close it off. You don't even have to put anything. Perhaps sitting away from it there might be a museum or a cultural center to help explain some of the things that I'm talking about. The U.S. Congress bestowed 28 Congressional Medal of Honors to men who killed unarmed men and children. They threw the babies up in the air and shot them. They cut the outer parts of the vaginal area and put them over the/ into the women. They took out the heart. They took the babies out of the wombs, and for that, they received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Now that is what I think some of the people object to. Why was the fact the U.S. Government should be ____? We may be small in numbers, but we have an understanding of life that is much more important. Those stories, those kinds or stories are never heard. Some of the stories I'm telling you third and fourth hand now. I wasn't there. I've heard it talked about from people who were there before, who talked to the peoples who were there. The Sand Creek (Massacre), the Sand Creek was the same way. That's the thing that I think should be done. I mean, I don't really care what is done. The only thing that should be done is to clear out that whole area to return it back to its natural state. In its natural way, the people where who had died there will be ____ rest in peace.

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Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

There's an old ceremony we have called "Wiping the Tears of the Mourners." The ceremony is conducted when a person dies within a family. And after that ceremony is concluded the family continues to live without the deceased family member. That ceremony was never done to the whole nation, and that's what we're trying to do. Four times, we purified ourselves in preparation for this ceremony. We should be prepared to tell the people: "We can never forget what happened at Wounded Knee, but we must live for the future. Thinking about what happened there a 100 years ago that is what keeps us in a state of uncertainty. Let's look towards that future _____. Let's look towards the future together."